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# ***Daily Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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24 March 1988

### Near East & South Asia

|                                                                                              |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Shamir Rejects U.S. Mideast Plan 'Again' .....                                               | 17 |
| Israeli Nuclear Arms, Arab 'Countermeasures' .....                                           | 18 |
| Egyptian Minister on 'Improvement' in Relations [ <i>Velikiy in IZVESTIYA 19 Mar</i> ] ..... | 18 |
| Sytenko Meets With Jordan's Prince Hasan [ <i>IZVESTIYA 22 Mar</i> ] .....                   | 19 |
| Wakil Circulates Letter at Islamic Conference .....                                          | 19 |
| Opposition To Participate in Afghan Elections .....                                          | 19 |

### Sub-Saharan Africa

|                                                                                                  |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Western 'Conspiracies' Against Ethiopia Noted [ <i>Borisov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Mar</i> ] ..... | 19 |
| Senegal President Congratulated on Reelection [ <i>IZVESTIYA 19 Mar</i> ] .....                  | 20 |
| Beninese Party Delegation Visits Moscow [ <i>PRAVDA 22 Mar</i> ] .....                           | 21 |
| Greetings Exchanged on Mauritian Anniversary .....                                               | 21 |
| Foreign Ministries' Telegrams [ <i>IZVESTIYA 23 Mar</i> ] .....                                  | 21 |
| 'Bond of Friendship' [ <i>IZVESTIYA 19 Mar</i> ] .....                                           | 21 |

### East Europe

|                                                                               |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| CSSR-USSR Troop Exercise Begins 23 March .....                                | 21 |
| Facilities of USSR Forces Transferred to GDR .....                            | 21 |
| Further Commentary on Gorbachev SFRY Visit .....                              | 22 |
| 'Powerful Impetus' for Ties .....                                             | 22 |
| Burlatskiy: Lucky Star Rising [ <i>LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 23 Mar</i> ] .....    | 22 |
| Bulgaria Marks Bilateral Treaty's 40th Jubilee .....                          | 23 |
| Sends USSR Greetings [ <i>PRAVDA 18 Mar</i> ] .....                           | 23 |
| Soviets Reciprocate [ <i>PRAVDA 18 Mar</i> ] .....                            | 24 |
| Shevardnadze, Mladenov Exchange Notes [ <i>PRAVDA 18 Mar</i> ] .....          | 24 |
| Slyunkov, Lukyanov Attend Meeting .....                                       | 25 |
| Bulgaria 'Needs' USSR [ <i>PRAVDA 18 Mar</i> ] .....                          | 25 |
| Nikonov Makes Working Visit to Bulgaria .....                                 | 27 |
| Meets Zhivkov [ <i>PRAVDA 11 Mar</i> ] .....                                  | 27 |
| Further on Tour [ <i>PRAVDA 12 Mar</i> ] .....                                | 27 |
| Bulgaria's Todorov Stops Over in Moscow .....                                 | 28 |
| BCP Delegation's 14-18 March Visit Detailed [ <i>PRAVDA 19 Mar</i> ] .....    | 28 |
| Bulgaria's Mladenov Lauds Soviet Balkan Stance [ <i>PRAVDA 19 Mar</i> ] ..... | 29 |

### West Europe

|                                                                                       |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Shevardnadze Holds 'Frank' Talks in Lisbon .....                                      | 29 |
| Met by Foreign Minister .....                                                         | 29 |
| Received by President Soares .....                                                    | 29 |
| Leaves Lisbon for Home .....                                                          | 30 |
| Gorbachev Answers Letter From French Veterans .....                                   | 30 |
| 'Text' of Message [ <i>PRAVDA 24 Mar</i> ] .....                                      | 30 |
| Group Comments on Reply [ <i>PRAVDA 24 Mar</i> ] .....                                | 30 |
| Gorbachev Meeting With Italian CP Head Viewed [ <i>PRAVDA 19 Mar</i> ] .....          | 31 |
| Delegation Visits Italy To Sell Nuclear Plant [ <i>AFP</i> ] .....                    | 31 |
| Tolkunov Delegation Returns From Italy [ <i>IZVESTIYA 22 Mar</i> ] .....              | 31 |
| NOVOSTI Chief Falin Criticizes Deutsche Welle .....                                   | 31 |
| Petrovskiy Continues Consultations in Stockholm [ <i>PRAVDA 19 Mar</i> ] .....        | 32 |
| Supreme Soviet Group Tours Scandinavia .....                                          | 32 |
| 'Lively Exchange' in Norway .....                                                     | 32 |
| Arrives in Sweden .....                                                               | 33 |
| Open Talks in Sweden .....                                                            | 33 |
| Ivashko Delegation Returns From FRG Visit [ <i>PRAVDA 21 Mar</i> ] .....              | 33 |
| Finnish Air Force Commander Arrives in Moscow [ <i>KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Mar</i> ] ..... | 34 |
| Briefs .....                                                                          | 34 |
| Joint Venture With FRG .....                                                          | 34 |



## Latin America & Caribbean

|                                                                                    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Reportage on Current Nicaraguan Peace Talks .....                                  | 34 |
| Humberto Ortega Assessment .....                                                   | 34 |
| Cease-Fire Agreement Reported .....                                                | 34 |
| Further on Sapoa Talks .....                                                       | 34 |
| U.S. Nicaraguan Policy 'Dangerous Game' [ <i>Korionov in PRAVDA 22 Mar</i> ] ..... | 35 |
| U.S. 'Massive Seige' on Panama Assessed .....                                      | 35 |
| Uruguayan President Completes Moscow Visit .....                                   | 36 |
| Gives Press Conference .....                                                       | 36 |
| Speaks of Trade Agreement .....                                                    | 37 |
| Discusses Panama Crisis .....                                                      | 37 |
| Awarded Honorary Degree .....                                                      | 37 |
| Kamentsev Meets Barrios [ <i>PRAVDA 23 Mar</i> ] .....                             | 37 |
| AUCCTU Secretary Leaves for Havana Visit [ <i>TRUD 22 Mar</i> ] .....              | 38 |
| Kryuchkov Party Delegation Returns From Cuba [ <i>PRAVDA 22 Mar</i> ] .....        | 38 |
| Cuban Official Discusses Technical Cooperation .....                               | 38 |
| Meets Communications Minister [ <i>Havana</i> ] .....                              | 38 |
| Talks With Tolstykh [ <i>Havana</i> ] .....                                        | 38 |
| Greetings Sent to Guyana's Cheddi Jagan [ <i>PRAVDA 22 Mar</i> ] .....             | 38 |

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Political & Social

|                                                                                                                               |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| USSR Supreme Soviet Denies Karabakh Request .....                                                                             | 39 |
| Resolution Published [ <i>PRAVDA 24 Mar</i> ] .....                                                                           | 39 |
| Supreme Soviet Delegates Interviewed .....                                                                                    | 39 |
| Experts Discuss Situation .....                                                                                               | 40 |
| Demirchyan Issues Statement [ <i>Yerevan</i> ] .....                                                                          | 41 |
| Armenian Presidium Decree [ <i>Yerevan</i> ] .....                                                                            | 41 |
| Ethnographer on Nationalities .....                                                                                           | 41 |
| Politburo Blamed for Sumgait [ <i>DPA</i> ] .....                                                                             | 41 |
| Troops, Police Deployed in Yerevan [ <i>AFP</i> ] .....                                                                       | 42 |
| Comparison of Supreme Soviet Session [ <i>PRAVDA 24 Mar</i> ] .....                                                           | 43 |
| Reporters Meet With Karabakh Activists [ <i>IZVESTIYA 24 Mar</i> ] .....                                                      | 43 |
| Armenian Reader's Letter Urges Friendship [ <i>PRAVDA 23 Mar</i> ] .....                                                      | 46 |
| Sugar Shortages in Kiev; Rationing Considered .....                                                                           | 48 |
| 'Tea Without Sugar' [ <i>Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 15 Mar</i> ] .....                                                               | 48 |
| Trade Ministry Statement [ <i>Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 18 Mar</i> ] .....                                                          | 49 |
| Ukrainian Ministers Reprimanded for Shortcomings [ <i>Kiev</i> ] .....                                                        | 49 |
| Georgian Patriarch Rejects VOA Allegations .....                                                                              | 50 |
| Hotels for Officials' Use Appear in Kazakhstan [ <i>IZVESTIYA 15 Mar</i> ] .....                                              | 50 |
| Ligachev, Others Tour Museum Renovations [ <i>PRAVDA 19 Mar</i> ] .....                                                       | 50 |
| Ligachev Speaks at Exhibition of Sporting Goods [ <i>PRAVDA 23 Mar</i> ] .....                                                | 51 |
| Biryukova Visits Georgian Enterprises .....                                                                                   | 52 |
| Tours Cooperatives .....                                                                                                      | 52 |
| Biryukova Attends Journal Presentation Soiree .....                                                                           | 52 |
| Filimonov Assumes Top Petroleum Industry Post<br>[ <i>SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSR: OTDEL PERVYY No 9</i> ] ..... | 52 |
| Yagodin Views Education Committee's Plans [ <i>PRAVDA 16 Mar</i> ] .....                                                      | 53 |
| Previously 'Suppressed' Books Being Released [ <i>SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 22 Mar</i> ] .....                                       | 54 |
| Icon Thefts, Smuggling Links Described [ <i>TRUD 15 Mar</i> ] .....                                                           | 56 |
| Beria's Arrest Described by Participant .....                                                                                 | 57 |
| Part One [ <i>KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Mar</i> ] .....                                                                              | 57 |
| Part Two [ <i>KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Mar</i> ] .....                                                                              | 58 |
| Part Three [ <i>KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Mar</i> ] .....                                                                            | 61 |
| Briefs .....                                                                                                                  | 63 |
| TV Antenna in North .....                                                                                                     | 63 |

### Economic

|                                                                                            |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Reform, Supply System 'Contradictions' Emerging<br>[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 17 Mar] | 63 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

### Agricultural

|                                            |    |
|--------------------------------------------|----|
| Farmers Congress Continues in Moscow       | 65 |
| Day One Activities [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 24 Mar] | 65 |
| PRAVDA Lists Attendees [24 Mar]            | 66 |
| Council Chairman Speaks                    | 66 |
| Gorbachev Addresses Congress               | 66 |

### Scientific

|                                                           |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 'Progress-35' Cargo Ship Launched 24 Mar                  | 82 |
| Correction to 'Cosmos-1934' Satellite Launching           | 83 |
| Space Research Official Views 'Astron' Program            | 83 |
| Afghan Envoy Presents Space Treaty 'Instrument'           | 83 |
| Academy of Sciences Holds General Meeting                 | 83 |
| Urals Development Discussed [PRAVDA 17 Mar]               | 83 |
| New 'World Economy' Department [PRAVDA 18 Mar]            | 84 |
| Cancer Drug To Undergo Further Testing [IZVESTIYA 17 Mar] | 85 |

**Pasko on Need for Maritime Security Treaty**  
*LD212157 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*  
*1030 GMT 21 Mar 88*

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Excerpts] [Pravdin] The Soviet Union's proposal to the United States that the number of ships and the potential of both countries' navies located in the Mediterranean should be frozen from 1 July, as well as other Soviet initiatives, have attracted the attention of the European states. [passage omitted]

The Soviet initiatives that have resounded from Belgrade give reason to make some generalizations. Similar proposals, you see, were made by the Soviet Union not so long ago with regard to limiting naval activity in the seas adjacent to northern Europe. We shall go over to commentator Vladimir Pasko.

[Pasko] We have somehow grown accustomed to thinking that the risk of war is most likely to come from land forces, from confrontation on land. But surely a risk like that can arise on the seas as well. Speaking at one of the press conferences in January, Chervov, head of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, noted in this connection that the United States and NATO have great superiority in naval forces over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. And the build up of these forces is continuing.

Of particular danger is the process of fitting out the U.S. ships with long-range, sea-based cruise missiles which are intended for strikes at targets on the territory of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. In 1972 the Soviet Union and the United States signed an agreement on preventing incidents in the open seas and in the airspace above them. The purpose of the agreement was to ensure the safety of warships at sea and the flights of military aircraft of the two states in accordance with the principles and norms of international law. Today it is a question of something much more serious, not of the safety of ships and aircraft, but of the states along whose sea borders they are located.

In October last year, in support of the initiative put forward by Finland's President Koivisto regarding the limitation of naval activity in the seas adjacent to northern Europe, the Soviet Union proposed that consultations should be started between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO on limiting the scales of operations by the navies and air forces in the waters of the Baltic, North, Norwegian, and Greenland seas and the extension to them of measures of trust. At the same time, it was proposed that the question should be examined of banning naval activity in mutually agreed zones of international gulfs and in general on busy sea lanes.

The proposals made by us now with respect to the southern parts of Europe are in the same vein. I note that our country has repeatedly suggested to the United States the withdrawing of the naval fleets of both countries from the Mediterranean. We have repeatedly stated that our warships are in the Mediterranean only because of the presence of the U.S. 6th Fleet there. It is, moreover, not only a region close to us. The only way of getting from the southern ports of the USSR to the world's ocean lies through it.

As far as the principles and methods of ensuring the safety of busy shipping lanes, especially in international gulfs, are concerned, in our opinion the Mediterranean and other interested states could become engaged in that. For our part, as was stated, this will receive every kind of support. The Soviet proposals, as the first response to them demonstrates, are examined in the context of the general struggle for the strengthening of European security. Almost 2 years ago in Budapest the Warsaw Pact member-states put forward a plan for reductions in the armed forces in Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. Today it includes many specific proposals, among them a comparison of the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, for the purpose of imparting to them a strictly defensive character, the setting up of a zone of diminished concentration of armaments along the line of contact of the two blocs, and the creation of a nuclear-free and chemical-weapon-free zone in the north, the center, and the south of the continent. These valuable initiatives supplement the Soviet proposals with regard to a reduction in military activity in the seas washing Europe's shores. I would like to hear a reply to them.

**Missile Destruction Ecologically Harmless**

*PM240835 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88*  
*Morning Edition p 2*

[Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Soldatenko replies to reader's letter under the heading "The Destruction of the Missiles Will Be Safe" and the rubric "News Panorama"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] I am aware from press reports that trains carrying missiles from the GDR and the CSSR are coming to Saryozek in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. They will be destroyed after the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The importance of this event is, I believe, rightly described as a historic step toward a nuclear-free world. But what I would like to know is this: Is the actual process of destroying these terrible weapons fraught with any consequences for the environment? K. Vladimirov, Novosibirsk.

The question of preserving ecological purity raised in this reader's letter is well founded. As scientists in many countries all over the world are pointing out with alarm, a vast quantity of toxic waste is already pumped daily into the atmosphere by thermal electric power plants,

boiler houses, and industrial and other enterprises. The smallest particles of gallium, cadmium, zinc, lead, sulfur oxide, carbon, and other lethal contaminants, some of which are carcinogenic, affect flora, fauna, and aquatic life and lead to soil oxidation. And not only in the territory of the country which is the source of the pollution.

All this could not be ignored by the Soviet and American leaders when they signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Washington on 8 December 1987. Moreover, precise information verified by specialists many times over on the possible consequences to the environment of different methods of destroying hundreds of Soviet and American missiles was taken into account. It was on the basis of this information that the Protocol on Procedures Regulating the Elimination of Missile Systems was prepared; it indicates that each side has the right to select the technological methods necessary for the destruction of their weapons.

Specific methods of destroying the elements of these missile systems are indicated, as you know, in points 10 and 11 of Section II of the protocol: Firing (launching), combustion, crushing, compression, or elimination by detonation. Whereas the crushing and compressing methods are "clean," so to speak, in ecological respects, detonation and combustion methods required careful study. A series of such tests were carried out by the Soviet Union and the United States when the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles were being drawn up.

This is how the Soviet Union studied the problem, for example. The main factors affecting the environment when detonating solid-propellant missiles are the shock wave, the products resulting from chemical reactions in the process of the explosion (hydrochloric acid in particular), and also some incombustible fragments of missiles, containers, and fuel loads falling on the earth's surface over a radius of several kilometers. The aims of the experiments were to obtain data on the group detonation of missiles ("bundles" of three), evaluate the distribution of products from the detonation in terms of time and space, and draw up recommendations for establishing the areas for such detonation. A careful express analysis of the atmosphere and earth's surface was carried out during each experiment. Tests of the soil and samples of the cloud formed by the explosion were taken over an area of several dozen kilometers from the center of the explosion.

The results of the research carried out in the Soviet Union convincingly showed that the impact on the environment during the destruction of missiles is safe from an ecological viewpoint. U.S. specialists reached the same conclusion. A memorandum assessing the impact on the environment of measures to destroy American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which the Pentagon issued for journalists points out that

the methods of missile destruction will not lead to any discharge into the atmosphere exceeding the corresponding environmental protection norms established in the United States.

The regions where missile systems are to be eliminated by detonation and combustion were decided on the basis of the information obtained during the experiments. They are regions of infertile land which are lifeless in the direct sense of the word and as far as possible from population centers and agricultural land.

**Disarmament Research Symposium Conference**  
*PM240909 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian*  
*20 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3*

[Interview with V.V. Shustov, member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Collegium and leader of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Scientific Coordination Center, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin: "Agenda for the Nineties"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] An international conference of directors of scientific research institutes dealing with disarmament and security problems, organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the UN Institute for the Study of Disarmament Problems, will be held in Sochi 21-24 March. The topic of the conference is "Research in the Disarmament Sphere: Tasks for the Nineties." A KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent met with V.V. Shustov, member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Collegium and leader of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Scientific Coordination Center, who will be taking part in the conference.

[Markushin] Vladimir Viktorovich, recently we have observed an appreciable galvanization of scientific thought in the sphere of questions concerning the prevention of war. Presumably the Sochi conference is further proof of this?

[Shustov] You are perfectly right. And here is what I would like to say about this right away. The weapons with monstrous destructive power which have been stockpiled on the planet were created [sozdano] by people of science, by scientists. And scientists must help mankind get rid of these weapons. We have entered an epoch when disarmament is no longer something abstract, something remote. It is a practical problem of today's generation of people. And practical demands always bring to light many things previously hidden from view. For example, we have seen the complexity of not only the technology for creating [sozdaniye] weapons but also the technology for their elimination, the technology for disarmament verification. It is as after all no accident that, in contrast with the recent past, talks on disarmament questions are now conducted with the active participation not only of professional diplomats and military personnel, but also of scientists. And the broader the

circle of specialists applying their experience and knowledge in this noble sphere, the more likely successful further progress will be. By no means every country is at present capable of conducting its own research into disarmament problems. In this context, the UN Institute is a kind of base for international research in this direction.

[Markushin] Have any specific topics of research been defined?

[Shustov] Yes, a number of topics have already been set. For example, the elimination of nuclear munitions, arms and space, the arms race in the seas and oceans, the problem of switching efforts from the military to the national economic sphere. We attach particular importance to the elaboration of scientific arguments in favor of reciprocity in the elimination of imbalances. Generally speaking, topics whose elaboration could help preparations for the implementation of agreements which have already been signed and of agreements to be signed in the future.

[Markushin] Vladimir Viktorovich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA often receives letters in which readers raise the following question. We are actively struggling for disarmament. In the same breath, however, we are saying that it is necessary to strengthen the combat capability of the Soviet Armed Forces in every way. Some people see a contradiction here....

[Shustov] I have also been asked similar questions by different audiences. This is what has to be borne in mind. The reductions of armed forces and armaments

which the Soviet Union so resolutely advocates can and must be implemented only if there is strict observance of the principle of equal security. This is why we have always posed and still pose the question of mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments. Qualitative equilibrium must certainly be ensured even in cases of asymmetry in such reductions. In other words, an equilibrium whereby the opposite side does not gain an opportunity to exert not only military but even political pressure. As for our army's combat capability, it naturally must ensure security to the extent that a potential threat exists. Today this threat is real and highly serious. It is therefore necessary to keep the powder dry and to maintain the highest vigilance and combat readiness.

[Markushin] The USSR's prestige as a country sincerely desiring peace is growing. At the same time, propaganda of the thesis of the "Soviet military threat" remains unabated in the West. What do you think, do people in the West believe those who circulate this obsolete fabrication?

[Shustov] I think that the majority of people really believe it. There are many reasons for this: Class rejection of socialism, the massive influence of anti-Soviet propaganda, and others. All this is aggravated by the fact that for years disarmament was discussed in highly abstract terms. While in reality both sides were building up their military might. And here we come back to the importance of scientific research in the disarmament sphere. Its result will help demolish the "enemy image" among political leaders as well. Research will offer conclusive proof that the diversion of vast material resources to armaments exhausts the economic organism of even the mightiest countries like the United States.



**Gerasimov on Risk of Arms Reaching Contras**

*PM231250 Moscow PRAYDA in Russian 23 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Excerpt] People in Moscow greeted with optimism the reports of the talks which have begun between representatives of the Sandinist leadership of Nicaragua and the contras, G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, noted. One would like to express the hope, he said, speaking at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on 22 March, that this meeting will lead to mutually acceptable results and will promote the implementation of the Guatemala agreements on a peaceful political settlement in Central America.

At the same time, we have noted the report in the British newspaper THE SUNDAY TIMES, which says that the American troops that have been shipped to Honduras will leave an enormous quantity of ammunition behind after their departure. Some people believe that this ammunition could fall into the hands of the contras, although that was banned by a decision of the Congress. [passage omitted]

**Unnamed 'Top Official' on START, Afghan Talks**

*PM231616 Paris LE MONDE in French  
23 Mar 88 p 3*

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "General Optimism on the Soviet Side"]

[Text] Moscow—Official Soviet circles are expressing great confidence in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, at least in private. On Monday 21 March, a top official told LE MONDE in Moscow that "the impetus given by the Reagan-Gorbachev summit last November" was "quite adequate to reach a START treaty in time."

"In time" means to enable Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev to sign this treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms at their next summit in Moscow in May. With regard to the other issue dominating the Washington consultations—the current deadlock in the Geneva negotiations on Afghanistan—it does not seem to be worrying Moscow too much, and this is particularly significant because such a deadlock would seriously jeopardize Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

**"Room To Maneuver" [subhead]**

This top official simply expressed irritation at the pre-conditions put forward by the United States and Pakistan for the signing of the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, while forcefully reaffirming Moscow's political desire to end the Afghan affair. "Afghanistan is a priority issue for us and, whatever problems we encounter in the negotiations, we are determined to solve this problem in such a way that it is no longer a

burden which hampers our progress" (in our foreign policy—LE MONDE editor's note), he said after talking sarcastically about the way in which the United States and Pakistan, according to him, are alternating with each other to delay the negotiations. "We expected better things from the Americans than these last-minute tricks reminiscent of the European negotiations in Brussels."

As everybody knows, negotiations in Brussels negotiations (almost) always end in last-minute compromises. This optimism is particularly striking because it coincides with that of Western diplomatic circles in Moscow who think that there is "room to maneuver" for a compromise on each of the outstanding points—notably the question of a simultaneous end to military aid. Special consideration is being given to a joint declaration by the two superpowers explaining what an end to foreign interference means in practice. The drafting of such a statement would apparently be made easier by the fact that the Soviets are stressing in their diplomatic talks that the problem for them is more political than military, because they need to "reassure Kabul."

Moscow's concern, this top Soviet official added, is that, whatever the future government in Kabul, Afghanistan should not be "anti-American but not anti-Soviet either" and that the USSR should maintain "good-neighborly relations" with that country.

With regard to the START treaty, he said that the preliminary talks are now at the same point as the discussions on intermediate-range missiles at the beginning of November. In other words, there is still "a great deal of work to do" as was the case then, but this only leads to "pessimism" if we forget the "vast amount of work" which was carried out "in 3 weeks" prior to the last summit.

Technically, this top official added, the outstanding problems are more complex but are not insoluble if there is the political will to solve them.

He certainly did not seem to really doubt that this will exist, and on Monday the TASS agency stressed that the U.S. "dream" of an ABM shield was fading in face of the technical and financial problems involved. The U.S. desire to develop an ABM defense system in space is the main obstacle to the conclusion of the START agreement.

**Timerbayev Gives Vienna Press Conference**

*LD240144 Moscow TASS in English 0036 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Vienna March 23 TASS—The scale of the problems confronting mankind today makes it incumbent on us to realise the interdependence, integrity and interrelation of the world, to show a new political approach and new thinking which will go some way towards building a

secure world. This statement was made at today's press conference here by Roland Timerbayev, the Soviet Union's permanent representative at international organisations in Vienna.

The drive for perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, he stressed, also presupposes openness and democratisation of international relations. The process of democratisation of international relations has started and is gaining momentum. There are quite a few examples of new thinking finding its way into the practice of international affairs. One can name among them the visit by American congressmen to the Krasnoyarsk Radar Station, the disclosure of the annual plans of military activity within the Helsinki process, the signing and the forthcoming, as we hope, ratification of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty.

Within the context of the general renewal in the field of multilateral relations, the Soviet spokesman stressed, the role of Vienna as one of the three major centres of multilateral diplomacy increases. The Soviet Union wholly supports the development and the build-up of joint efforts of the members of the world community in all fields of activity of international organisations located here.

The questions of international cooperation are acquiring for us today special importance, largely due to the perestroyka under way in the country, Roland Timerbayev stressed. We support the intention of the U.N. secretary-general and the director general of the UN office in Vienna to develop and promote Vienna as an international forum for discussing all social issues lying within the U.N. competence.

## United States & Canada

### Further Reportage on Shevardnadze U.S. Talks

#### Remaining Differences Discussed

LD231730 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1510 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] Hello, Comrades. Talks between USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz continued today in Washington.

The ministers paid great attention to matters connected with working out a Soviet-U.S. agreement on reducing strategic offensive weapons under the conditions of the observance of the antimissile defense treaty. They discussed the results of the work done by the delegations of the two countries at talks in Geneva. In particular, there was a review of prepared joint draft protocols on inspections; protocols on re-equipping and liquidating strategic offensive weapons; and memoranda on accords that will be an integral part of a future treaty embodying, in principle, 50-percent reductions in the strategic offensive weapons belonging to the USSR and the United States.

The ministers discussed thoroughly and in a concrete manner ways to overcome the differences still remaining. In this connection, Shevardnadze and Shultz agreed to give corresponding additional instructions to the delegations at the Geneva talks. In a word, a non-straightforward [neprostoy], but constructive dialogue is underway in Washington on the key question of cutting down strategic offensive weapons. This dialogue inspires hope that the differences that still exist will be overcome and that the treaty will be worked out in time for the forthcoming meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan in Moscow.

#### May Date Set for Visit

LD232131 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1800 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by V. Dunayev]

[Text] The visit by Comrade Shevardnadze to the United States continues. This morning, Comrade Shevardnadze arrived at the State Department for the third round of talks with the secretary of state. At the center of today's discussions were regional problems.

Here is the Oval Office of the White House—a meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and President Reagan. The political capital that has accumulated as a result of Comrade Gorbachev's meetings with President Reagan gives cause for hope of continuity in the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Journalists were then invited into the Rose Garden of the President's residence. Ronald Reagan came out of the Oval Office together with Comrade Shevardnadze to give a brief, unscheduled, and unplanned statement. Our talks are still going on, the President said, but an agreement has already been reached that the visit to the USSR and the Moscow summit will take place from 29 May through 2 June.

The date of the visit has been fixed. The talks between the President and Comrade Shevardnadze in the White House continue.

#### Meets With Reagan

PM241025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting at White House"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Foreign Minister, met with President Ronald Reagan in the White House on March 23.

Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed to the President of the United States greetings from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the conversation that ensued, the Soviet side thoroughly analyzed the state of affairs with regard to key aspects in Soviet-American relations, above all in the area of security where the two sides have already accumulated quite a rich experience of talks. The opinion was specifically expressed that, given truly mutual efforts and high dynamism in the talks, the successful conclusion of the work on a treaty for a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States is realistic and feasible within a relatively short period of time, preferably by the coming Soviet-American summit in Moscow. On the whole, a solid basis has already been created for this. It stands to reason that this will become possible if there is an agreement to observe the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, and not to withdraw from it for a specified period of time, the USSR foreign minister noted. The sides have already agreed to decide that matter on the basis of the wording contained in the joint statement on the results of the Soviet and U.S. leaders' meeting in Washington last December. The point now is to implement that arrangement. This is one of the central matters at the minister's talks.

The Soviet minister proposed to the U.S. side to resolutely tackle the complex matters that remain unresolved.

Other aspects of the problem of arms limitation and disarmament, including banning chemical weapons, ending nuclear tests, and reducing conventional armaments, were touched upon. On the whole, an intensive dialogue between the USSR and the United States on an



entire range of matters of security creates good conditions for the consolidation of Soviet-American relations on positions of cooperation in averting the military menace, of progress on the road to creating a comprehensive system of international security, Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Eduard Shevardnadze dwelt further on the most topical problems of the international situation from the viewpoint of resolving conflicts in various areas of the world. In this context, he set out the Soviet Union's constructive realistic approaches to the settlement around Afghanistan, to the solution of the Middle East problem, and to bring an end to the Iran-Iraq war and other regional problems. The achievement of a higher level of mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States in the quest for practical ways of eliminating "hot spots" and sites causing the danger of unpredictable developments would promote a just solution to these problems.

The Soviet side expressed the readiness for further concrete steps for the development of bilateral relations and exchanges with the United States. Responding to the President's request, Eduard Shevardnadze described the course of all-round restructuring of the life of Soviet society, highlighting the international importance of the processes in the USSR whose peaceful, constructive tendency determines our country's entire foreign policy course.

President Reagan set out U.S. evaluations of the questions raised in the conversation. He confirmed the intention of his administration to continue to work together to find mutually acceptable solutions to the main problems in relations between the United States and the USSR, above all on questions of security. The United States is striving to implement arrangements reached to this effect during the Washington summit.

The timing for Ronald Reagan's coming visit to the USSR was agreed upon during the conversation—from 29 May to 2 June 1988. The President of the United States asked that best wishes be conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Taking part in the conversation were U.S. Vice President George Bush, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR Ambassador to the United States Yuriy Dubinin, assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Colin Powell, and Chief of Staff to the President Howard Baker.

#### Comments on May Summit

LD240707 Moscow TASS in English 0701 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—The USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze held a press conference here on Wednesday on completing his visit to the United States during which he had talks with President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz.

He said the entire spectrum of disarmament problems, questions connected with regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral relations were discussed at the talks.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that on the whole there was some movement on each question, a step forward. "Although those have not been very big steps, each of them makes it evident that there is a greater understanding where to move and on what to focus our efforts", the Soviet foreign minister went on.

Noting that the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow was scheduled for the end of May, Eduard Shevardnadze said that this was a good time of year "for the next radical step in renewing Soviet-American relations on the basis of dialogue and constructive cooperation".

"I believe that our common task should be to make the President's visit to Moscow as productive as was Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington", the Soviet minister stated.

Asked whether any agreement or understanding was reached on a symmetrical reduction of Soviet and American aid to the two sides in Afghanistan, an accord on ending such assistance, Eduard Shevardnadze said that "no agreement has been reached on that question".

"And no understanding has been reached on that question. And that is because the problem of arms supplies is not contained in the documents that have already been agreed upon and prepared for signing in Geneva", he went on. "And since no understanding has been reached on that, this can prevent the United States from acting as a guarantor of non-interference. The Afghan question can be settled without an American guarantee".

Touching on the question of Soviet aid to Afghanistan the Soviet foreign minister said that "the Soviet Union has obligations to the Afghan Government and these obligations have a relevant treaty basis—the treaty signed by the Soviet Government and the Afghan Government".

"These are legitimate supplies", Eduard Shevardnadze said further, "and we are not going to review that treaty. Incidentally, we have had such agreements with Afghanistan since 1921".

The Soviet foreign minister said that the Soviet Union was raising fundamentally the question of reducing military confrontation at sea.

"We raised very fundamentally, most seriously the question of naval forces", he stressed. "So far there has been no serious, concrete and detailed discussion of this question. We proposed to put this question on the agenda and not only from the viewpoint of Soviet-American talks. This is a problem that requires the serious attention of the entire international community.

This problem is topical also for the Mediterranean and it is not by chance that Comrade Gorbachev raised this question in such a principled manner. It is also very topical for the northern sea, the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, etc.”.

The minister stressed that the discussion of the range of issues related to the conclusion of the agreement on strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty was of special interest for the Soviet side. Replying to questions by newsmen Eduard Shevardnadze said that he could not guarantee that the treaty on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic arsenals would be signed in Moscow. “But there is a possibility, if political will is displayed the treaty can be prepared”, Eduard Shevardnadze said. He pointed to the interconnection between the treaty on strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty. “We insist on the preservation of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. There will be no treaty on the 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms if there is no observance of the ABM Treaty, at least for an agreed period of time. We have agreed on this at the highest level. There is nothing new here”, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed.

Touching on Ronald Reagan's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze said: “Moscow awaits the U.S. President at the end of May. All summit meetings held in the period which we call in our country a time of perestroika and new political thinking have become landmark events in Soviet-American relations. The forthcoming meeting in Moscow will logically continue the course that passed through Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington. I believe that our common task, concern and aim should be to make the President's visit to Moscow as productive as was Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington”.

“The December summit was marked by the treaty on the elimination of a whole class of weapons. The Moscow meeting, as we want it and as we strive for it, should be crowned with an agreement on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms”, the Soviet minister stressed.

### **‘Nuclear Risk’ Center Opens**

*PM241017 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: “Nuclear Risk Reduction Center”]

[Text] Washington—An unusual sign—“Nuclear Risk Reduction Center”—has appeared in Room 7518 on the seventh floor of the U.S. State Department building. A similar center has been opened in Moscow.

The first commentaries on the center's opening ceremony—during which the ribbon was ceremonially cut by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and U.S.

Secretary of State G. Shultz—described the ceremony as an important event in the process of normalizing relations between the two countries.

U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, who welcomed in his speech the establishment of these lines of communication between the two countries, stressed that “the opening of centers in Washington and Moscow is a real step forward in collaboration with the Soviet Union toward our common goal—the establishment of trust and security. The Washington and Moscow centers will play an important role in further reducing the chances of the outbreak of conflicts between the USSR and the United States.”

In his speech, E.A. Shevardnadze said:

Six months ago—as a kind of prologue to the major accords reached at M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with President Reagan—here in Washington the Soviet-U.S. agreement on creating nuclear risk reduction centers was signed. Today, the American center is opening, and in Moscow the Soviet center is beginning to operate. The two nuclear powers are plotting on their maps two poles of nuclear risk reduction as a promise to promote the creation of a nuclear-free geography of the earth. This is happening at a time when Soviet-U.S. relations are acquiring new content and new dynamics. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles gives impetus to talks on other key areas of the limitation of the arms race and disarmament. In this context, the opening of the centers has special, extraordinary significance. This event confirms our two countries' readiness to act to prevent nuclear war.

The centers are entrusted with functions that are indeed highly responsible. They will open up a channel for the transmission of notifications and the exchange of information necessary for the effective verification of existing and future agreements in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction. In other words, this is a channel of confidence, putting into practice the course of greater predictability and openness on military issues.

As yet, this is only a beginning. As yet, only the first communication sessions are taking place between the centers. One would like to believe that as experience is accumulated, their powers and opportunities will grow and will spread to new spheres.

A time will come, we hope, when the words “nuclear risk” will be removed from the centers' titles, because the source of that risk will disappear, and the centers themselves will become a means of greater glasnost in the military sphere.

The beginning of their work indicates that the new political thinking is gaining a practical dimension and taking material form in concrete work. In a sense it is a milestone with which we have marked the path leading to a nuclear-free future.

I congratulate all those involved on this event, and I cordially thank you for the implementation of a fine idea.

Specialists are pointing out that the centers will be used to convey notification about planned launches of ballistic missiles, if these missiles are launched beyond the confines of national territory in the direction of the other side. They will also communicate signals about missiles which may pose a threat to shipping and air traffic.

The centers are an important tool for both countries to convey the relevant information with a view to bringing about the practical fulfillment of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in December 1987 during the Washington summit. They may become important means of transferring information for the treaty under preparation on a 50-percent cut in the two countries' strategic offensive weapons.

#### **Shultz Assesses Talks**

*LD240659 Moscow TASS in English 0655 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said the Soviet-American talks in Washington were useful and businesslike.

Summing up the results of two days of discussions with the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze the U.S. secretary of state noted at a press conference at the State Department that much attention at the talks was given to the question of drafting an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of the Soviet and American arsenals of strategic offensive arms.

George Shultz described as a good idea the agreement reached during his visit to Moscow in February to prepare joint drafts of a protocol on inspection, a protocol on conversion and elimination of strategic offensive arms and a memorandum of understanding, which will form an integral part of the future treaty. He said the problems of sea-launched cruise missiles, the proposed sublimits for warheads of land-based ICBMs and other questions connected with the drafting of a treaty on the reduction of the Soviet and American strategic arsenals were thoroughly discussed during the talks with the Soviet minister.

He said he could not name any concrete results of the talks other than such discussions are important for a better understanding by each side of the other's concerns as well as of the complexities of problems. This, he went on, leads to understanding of ways of reaching their ultimate solution. The secretary of state said that both sides were now in a better position than before the Soviet minister's arrival in Washington as regards the drafting of the agreement on strategic offensive arms. He stressed that in the question of drafting an agreement concerning observance of the ABM Treaty the sides confirmed

readiness to act in accordance with the relevant wording adopted at the Soviet-American summit in Washington in December of last year. George Shultz said there was agreement in general that there should be a separate accord on this matter.

The secretary of state said the discussions of nuclear testing were very productive. He dwelt in detail also on the other problems that were discussed in Washington.

#### **Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement**

*LD240505 Moscow TASS in English 0455 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—A joint Soviet-American statement was adopted on the results of the meetings and talks which the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had in Washington:

Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State of the United States George Shultz met in Washington from March 21 to 23, 1988, for the second of a series of meetings to review developments in Soviet-U.S. relations and to prepare for the meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the United States Ronald Reagan, which will take place in Moscow from May 29 to June 2, 1988.

Eduard Shevardnadze was received by President Ronald Reagan for a discussion of the state of Soviet-American relations and of objectives in the coming months in arms control, human rights and humanitarian questions, regional affairs, and bilateral matters.

The two sides gave priority attention to implementation of the agreements and understandings recorded in the joint statement issued by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the United States Ronald Reagan in their Washington meeting, as developed further during Secretary Shultz' visit to Moscow in February 1988. Both sides have worked hard and some progress has been realised in a number of areas, but much more needs to be done.

By mutual desire, the meetings between the foreign minister and the secretary began with a frank and businesslike exchange on human rights and humanitarian questions. The discussion of these issues will continue at the expert level.

The foreign minister and the secretary and their senior experts held extensive discussions on arms control.

They reaffirmed the strong commitment made in the Washington Summit joint statement to make an intensive effort to complete a treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms and all integral

documents at the earliest possible date, preferably in time for signature of the treaty during the next meeting of the two leaders. The ministers reviewed the joint draft texts of a protocol on inspection; a protocol on conversion or elimination of strategic offensive arms; and a memorandum of understanding, developed in accordance with their directive at the February ministerial [as received] in Moscow. Reemphasising their commitment to effective verification measures, they agreed that the Soviet and U.S. negotiators in Geneva will seek to resolve the remaining differences in these documents and report on progress at the next ministerial.

The ministers continued their review of the key remaining substantive issues associated with the treaty, as well as a wide range of treaty topics of interest to each side, including problems associated with: verification and counting of nuclear-armed long-range air-launched cruise missiles; limitation and verification of nuclear-armed long-range sea-launched cruise missiles; and mobile ICBMs. They also reviewed issues related to sublimits on warheads within the 6000 level. [as received]

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz also reviewed the progress at the nuclear and space talks on the negotiations regarding the ABM Treaty as discussed at the Washington summit. They directed their negotiators in Geneva to expedite preparation of a joint draft text of a separate agreement building on the language of the December 10, 1987 joint statement issued by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the United States Ronald Reagan, allowing consideration of any unresolved issues at the next meeting of the foreign minister and the secretary of state in Moscow.

Taking note of further progress in Soviet-U.S. full-scale step-by-step negotiations on issues of nuclear testing and confirming the commitment by the sides to the implementation of the agreed mandate of these negotiations, the ministers instructed their delegations in Geneva, in particular:

To design and conduct as soon as possible the joint verification experiment in full conformity with the December 9, 1987 ministerial statement;

Complete a detailed plan and schedule for the joint verification experiment by the April ministerial [as received];

Prepare a joint draft of the threshold test ban treaty protocol by the time of the joint verification experiment, to be finalised through the conduct and analysis of the joint verification experiment;

Accelerate work on verification issues for the peaceful nuclear explosions treaty.

The two sides reviewed the situation on conventional arms control, with special reference to the mandate negotiations in Vienna, and expressed the hope for their completion in the context of a successful outcome of the Vienna CSCE meeting.

The ministers discussed the ongoing multilateral and bilateral negotiations toward a comprehensive, effectively verifiable and truly global ban on chemical weapons, and instructed their delegations in Geneva to continue working constructively in this direction.

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz observed a test of the communications link between the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers established under the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center Agreement signed on September 15, 1987.

The sides held extensive talks on regional questions. They reaffirmed that the goal of the Soviet-U.S. regional dialogue should be to help the parties to regional conflicts find peaceful solutions that advance their independence, freedom and security, and within this context reviewed the situation regarding Afghanistan, Central America, Iran-Iraq, the Middle East, southern Africa, Kampuchea and the Korean peninsula. Contacts and consultations on these issues will continue.

The two sides examined the work under way to expand areas of bilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States.

To continue their discussions on the wide spectrum of issues in Soviet-U.S. relations and to ensure successful preparations for the Moscow summit, Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz agreed to meet again in Moscow from April 21-25, 1988, and then again in the middle of May.

### Comparison of Statement

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0500 GMT on 24 March carries a report on the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze's Washington visit. This report has been compared to the Moscow TASS English version from 0455 GMT on 24 March, published above, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph thirteen, only sentence, reads: ...draft of the treaty on limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests protocol by the... (supplying TASS Russian wording)

Paragraph fifteen, only sentence, reads: The two sides reviewed the situation in the area of armed forces and conventional arms, with special reference to the question of the state of affairs at the Vienna meeting on agreeing on a mandate for negotiations on armed forces and



conventional arms, and expressed the hope that this work will be completed in the context of a successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting. (supplying TASS Russian wording)

#### **Solton Comments on Talks**

*LD241601 Moscow World Service in English  
1410 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Excerpts] We begin today's issue with Yuriy Solton's comment on the results of the talks in Washington between the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and President Reagan and State Secretary George Shultz on the American side. Here is what Yuriy Solton writes:

The talks were difficult. They covered a wide range of complicated issues from nuclear disarmament to problems of human rights. Though not all the points were agreed upon, progress was definitely achieved. The major achievement to my mind is the confirmation of the need to continue the Soviet-American dialogue at top level. It was announced that the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan will have a meeting in Moscow from 29 May to 2 June, and this is a good sign. [passage omitted]

If the agreement on cuts up to 50 percent in strategic offensive weapons of the two countries are [as heard] signed, it would be a breakthrough in the work of the elimination of nuclear weapons. Naturally this can be done—provided all the provisions of the ABM Treaty are strictly observed and the two sides pledge not to withdraw from that treaty for a certain fixed period of time. There is reason for that. It's true the work on a new treaty now going on in Geneva has begun arousing concern lately. Its pace has slowed down. The American delegation tends to depart from the understandings reached by the leaders of the two countries.

It's important, therefore, that during the meetings between Eduard Shevardnadze, Ronald Reagan, and George Shultz the accent was laid on the need to implement the agreements and understandings registered in the joint statement issued by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in December. [passage omitted] The understandings reached in principle should now be put into practice. I think the chances for the signing of the treaty on cuts in strategic weapons are now greater than they were only several days ago.

#### **Shevardnadze Departs**

*LD240453 Moscow TASS in English 0448 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Washington today on completing his talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz.

#### **Senate Committee Opposes INF Treaty Amendments** *LD232114 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 23 TASS—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations today refuted attempts to undermine the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe by incorporating the so-called "killer amendments" into it. The committee overwhelmingly voted against the inclusion of the amendment which provides for granting the USA the right to deploy in Europe cruise missiles armed with non-nuclear warheads. The amendment was tabled by extreme right Senator Jesse Helms, a Republican from North Carolina, who is spearheading the offensive of American ultra on this historic agreement at the Congress. At present, the committee, which must present its recommendations to the senate on the ratification of the agreement, started to review the amendments and reservations to the treaty (?before) submitting it for approval by full Senate.

In all, 36 out of a total 43 amendments and reservations suggested for the treaty were proposed by Senator Helms. The committee's chairman, Senator Claiborne Pell (Democrat, Rhode Island) stated today that he intended to speak out against putting any amendments and conditions to the treaty or a resolution on its approval by the Senate. According to both Democratic and Republican leaders at the Senate, 88 to 90 senators will vote for the ratification of the treaty. The Senate leadership plans to hold the vote in April.

#### **UN Envoys Protest Closure of PLO Office**

*PM241129 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch: "United Nations: They Are Violating Their Own Constitution"]

[Text] New York—The Philippines representative put it very aptly. The PLO, he said, has not breached any of its obligations in respect to the United Nations and no one has convicted it of breaking any U.S. laws whatsoever. Nevertheless, it has been sentenced to the closure of its mission without having been given the chance to speak in its own defense.

The judge was the U.S. Congress, which adopted a corresponding law at the end of last year. The administration is refusing to consider an appeal, thus violating not only the treaty obligations which the United States has adopted vis-a-vis the international community, but also the American Constitution. As A. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative at the United Nations, noted when addressing the 42d session of the UN General Assembly on Monday, the founding fathers of the United States, when drafting the Constitution 200 years ago, laid down that properly-concluded international treaties become "the highest law of the land." Is it not paradoxical, the Soviet representative asked rhetorically, that by



insisting on the observance of the treaty on the location of the UN Headquarters, the international community is showing more respect for one of the key provisions of the U.S. Constitution than those people in the United States who are under an obligation to strictly comply with this provision.

Fifty-four speakers put down their name to speak in the debate at the session, which has been forced to resume its work for the second time to discuss the truly extraordinary situation which has developed in the PLO-UN-U.S. triangle. Or, to be more precise, in the relations between the United Nations and the United States. After all, essentially this is not a conflict between the mission of the Palestinian organization and Washington, but between Washington and practically the whole international community.

Not all the 54 speakers were able to speak. There was not enough time. The debate will continue Tuesday. So far, not one speech in which the stance of the United States was not denounced has been heard. Not a single one. This monolithic solidarity is not just a manifestation of the conviction that the law and truth are on the side of the United Nations. It is also evidence of increasingly distinct misgivings that the closure of the PLO mission would create a very dangerous precedent as a result of which the United States might consider itself authorized to close any mission it sees fit if Washington finds it in any way objectionable. It cannot be ruled out, the Qatar representative noted, that those who are seeking the closure of the PLO mission are out to destroy the United Nations.

#### **Protest Resolution Endorsed**

*LD232123 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT  
23 Mar 88*

[Text] New York March 23 TASS—At the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly delegations of 148 countries have endorsed the resolution aimed at counteracting the discriminatory and illegal decision by the United States to close down the mission of the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organisation at the UN.

The document stresses the right of the PLO mission to stay on U.S. territory under agreement between the UN and the United States and notes that the invoking of the relevant American law against the PLO mission runs counter to the international judicial commitments of a country hosting the UN Headquarters and hampers the achievement of the UN goals.

The UN General Assembly, the document stresses, urgently calls on the host country (the United States) to fulfill its international judicial commitments and asks the UN secretary-general to take the necessary measures to ensure the exercise by the PLO mission at the UN of its functions. The only countries voting against that resolution were the United States and Israel.

#### **TRUD Notes TU Aides Refused U.S. Visas**

*PM221507 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 3*

[I. Mikhailov report: "What Are the U.S. Authorities Afraid Of?"]

[Text] Last Sunday, a delegation of the Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers' Trade Union was supposed to leave for the United States. However, the airliner (flight No 315 Moscow—New York) left for America without the members of the Soviet delegation: The U.S. State Department had denied them the entry visas....

Our correspondent met with members of the Soviet delegation. A.I. Nikiforov, head of the delegation and secretary of the trade union's Central Committee, said:

"Our trade union maintains contacts with trade unions in 80 countries. We exchange delegations with them on a bilateral basis. However, unfortunately, no delegation of our trade union has ever visited the United States, although American colleagues have visited our country. The current denial of visas is not the first. In July 1982, for instance, a delegation of the Soviet construction workers' trade union was unable to visit the United States at the invitation of the Californian Construction Industry Labor Union Council for the same reason.

"Last year our trade union received a delegation of the Contra-Costa District Construction Industry Workers' Labor Union Council (California) headed by Warren Jackman, the union's secretary and treasurer. The guests visited Leningrad and Minsk and acquainted themselves in detail with the work and leisure of Soviet construction workers. They noted that 'they had seen in action members of the Soviet construction workers' trade union, as well as the advantages which the trade unions provide for their people.' Our American colleagues were very pleased with the trip and they told us so in a letter. In return, they asked us to visit the United States. However, unfortunately we were refused entry visas. Frankly speaking, we knew that Washington is opposed to contacts between our countries' trade unions. However, after the summit, when contacts between our countries began to be widened in various spheres, it seemed that there would be no obstacles to our trip. As you can see, we were wrong," A.I. Nikiforov concluded.

N.A. Ziborov, electrical engineering installation worker from Artemovsk city, was to have gone to the United States as part of the Soviet delegation. This is what he said:

"I have read a lot in the newspapers and seen on television what interest the Americans are showing in life in our country. Meetings between politicians, writers, and cultural figures of the USSR and the United States are being held. Even the military are meeting. As a working man, I wanted to see how U.S. construction workers work, what questions U.S. labor unions deal

with. In turn, I wanted to tell them how we Soviet construction workers live and work. Then I heard that our trip had been canceled. I cannot understand what the U.S. authorities are so afraid of that they do not allow us, Soviet working people and trade union officials, to enter the country.

"We were told that Soviet Embassy staff in Washington called the U.S. State Department and asked why the Soviet delegation had been refused visas. A State Department spokesman said in reply that this decision is in line with accepted visa policy in respect of Soviet trade unions...."

It remains to be noted with regret that blatant discrimination in respect of Soviet trade unions indeed remains the "accepted policy" of the U.S. State Department. And one would like to repeat N.A. Ziborov's question: What are the U.S. authorities so afraid of? Those selfsame authorities which are so keen to hold forth about human rights and the importance of contacts between people.

**Businessmen on Joint Petrochemical Venture**  
*PM221253 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88*  
*Morning Edition p 4*

[A. Kuvshinnikov and G. Charodeyev report under the rubric "We Report the Details": "A. Hammer: Our Aim Is Profit. Joint Enterprises of World Significance"]

[Text] "We are a group of multinational corporations, not a charity. We're out to make a profit," A. Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum, stated at a Moscow press conference.

Along with leading industrial corporations—Montedison and Enichem from Italy and Marubeni from Japan—the American company signed a protocol with the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry on plans to set up a joint enterprise named "Tengiz Polimer" in the Soviet Union.

The Tengiz oilfield, on which it is planned to base the new complex, is located in an old oil-producing region, V.A. Dinkov, USSR minister of the petroleum industry, said. Known oil reserves there currently exceed 2.5 billion tonnes, and prospecting has by no means been completed. In terms of the content of polymer components in the dissolved gas the field is one of the richest in the world.

In order to comprehensively exploit components such as hydrogen sulfide and ethane, it is planned to set up a major petrochemical combine through joint efforts. This is planned to be able to produce 400,000 tonnes of polypropylene, 600,000 tonnes of polyethylene, more than 1 million tonnes of granulated sulfur, and other complex plastics annually.

We asked A. Hammer to comment on the financial side of the work. According to him, the international group will invest 49 percent of the statutory capital, which will amount to something in the order of \$3 billion. No less than half of the output will be sold in the international market—the remainder being sold on the Soviet domestic market. All income in rubles and foreign currency will be distributed in proportion to each participant's share of the statutory capital.

The Soviet side approached the choice of participants in the future joint enterprise with extreme care. Occidental Petroleum is interested in buying sulfur for fertilizer production, the Montedison corporation is the world leader in polypropylene production, while Enichem is primarily interested in polyethylene. The Japanese company, with rich experience of cooperation with different Soviet industrial and trading organizations, will sell the remaining output on the world market.

"We correlate the opportunities for producing and marketing the output in good time," R. Gardini, chairman of Montedison, stated. "According to our estimates, the world market for these types of plastic is going to expand, so there will be no problems." "The production volumes laid down in the plan are large enough to justify the investment required," F. Reviglio, chairman of the Italian ENI concern, added. "But at the same time, the investment is not so large as to destabilize the market. For instance, annual polyethylene production at 'Tengiz Polimer' will account for 2 percent of total world production."

What if world prices for oil and petroleum products continue to fall? "I think that would only be a temporary phenomenon," A. Hammer believes. "Anyone who thinks about investment thinks about the future," R. Gardini added. "If your calculations are wrong, the future will have to be corrected. And that will depend purely on our ability."

## China

**Supreme Soviet Ethnic Dispute Decision Reported**  
*OW241151 Moscow International Service*  
*in Mandarin 0600 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union discussed on Wednesday the appeals from the union's republics over the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSR's.

Tensions have been building in the Azerbaijan and Armenian republics since the call made last month for annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh of Azerbaijan republic into the Armenian republic. The decision adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet pointed out that the situation there has done damage to the people in these republics, to the friendship of all Soviet nationalities, and to the unity of multinationality countries. It will

never be permitted to use the method of applying pressure against state power to solve the complex issue of national territory with sentiment and agitation. This will lead to unpredictable consequences. The Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijani and Armenian republics are authorized to strengthen order, to safeguard the interests of all national citizens, and to strictly deal with those individuals who through personal action are responsible for sabotaging the situation, as well as those who infringe on the brotherly friendship and cooperation of Soviet nationalities.

**Wu Xueqian Comments on U.S. Talks, INF Treaty**  
*OW230119 Moscow International Service*  
*in Mandarin 1500 GMT 10 Mar 88*

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners, now let us discuss an urgent international issue. In the past few days, I noticed with great interest the reports by Chinese and American news media on Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian's talks with American leaders.

Comrade Wu Xueqian expressed great concern over present relations between the United States and the Soviet Union when he talked with President Reagan of the United States. I am quite interested in this report. I am convinced that Comrade Wu Xueqian's remarks are particularly important. He said: China welcomes the signing of the INF Treaty at the summit between the Soviet Union and the United States and hopes the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on reducing strategic weapons will end in success. In this connection, I hereby invite station observer Comrade Mulatov to express his own view. He has the following comments:

People of the world's various countries all hope that the Soviet Union and the United States will continue to hold talks on reducing nuclear weapons and achieve success. Naturally, like many other countries, China also closely links relations between the Soviet Union and the United States with the progress of preparations for another round of summit meetings between the two countries. This is because of the important nature of the meeting which may finalize and sign a treaty between the Soviet Union and United States on reducing offensive strategic weapons by 50 percent. In this respect, I wish to note that the principle and stand of the Soviet Union and China are almost 100 percent the same on the issue of stopping nuclear arms competition and fundamentally preventing nuclear disasters. Both the Soviet Union and China have announced that their goal is not only to stop nuclear arms competition, but also to insure the progress of nuclear disarmament. Both the Soviet Union and China hold that only if the two largest nuclear powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—take the lead in actually reducing nuclear weapons can the above mentioned goal be realized. We all know that the INF Treaty

between the Soviet Union and the United States and the draft treaty on reducing offensive strategic weapons by 50 percent can be an important milestone on the road to the goal.

Moscow and Beijing have a similar view on the so-called Star Wars plan. This is a very important. Regretfully, on this issue, there is still a great gap between the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist and nonaligned countries on the one side and the United States and certain of its allies on the other. The United States and its allies stubbornly persist in carrying out the program of trial-producing offensive space weapons. However, the Soviet Union, China, and the majority of other countries firmly oppose any kinds of militarization of space.

On another important issue—namely, the question of establishing nonnuclear zones—the views of Moscow and Beijing are in fact identical. Both countries have signed a protocol supporting the plan to establish non-nuclear zones in Southeast Asia, the Korean peninsula, and other regions. The United States and other Western nuclear powers take a negative stand on this issue. We all know that nuclear powers must assume a specially important responsibility in reducing the danger of nuclear war. The thing which greatly cheers us is that the stand of our two socialist nuclear powers is quite close or identical.

### Northeast Asia

**MPRP Views Yakovlev Visit, Secretaries' Parley**  
*PM231603 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Conference Results Discussed"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 22 Mar—After hearing a report on the results of the latest conference of the secretaries for ideological questions of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties held 16-17 March in Ulaanbaatar, the MPRP Central Committee approved the MPRP delegation's activity there.

It was stressed that the conference, where topical questions of the party's ideological work under conditions of the new political thinking were discussed and where a broad exchange of opinions and experience also took place, was an important event in the cooperation between the fraternal parties. It has been pointed out that the conference was important for stepping up propaganda regarding the process of renewal and restructuring developing in the socialist countries, the positive trends in international life, and the peace-loving proposals and initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and for further deepening their cooperation in the ideological sphere and boosting its efficiency.

The MPRP Central Committee pointed out that the visit to Mongolia at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the meetings and conversations held during the visit, and the signing of the program to deepen cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP in the spheres of ideology, culture, science, and education were an important contribution to strengthening traditional friendship and expanding cooperation between the two parties and peoples.

The mutual exchange during the visit of work experience to change and improve the content and forms of ideological work under conditions of restructuring in the USSR and Mongolia is of fundamental importance in studying the CPSU's rich experience and developing ties and cooperation between the two countries' ideological organs.

The MPRP Central Committee commissioned the appropriate party Central Committee departments with monitoring the fulfillment of the signed cooperation program, resolving important problems raised by both sides, and taking into consideration and creatively implementing in practical ideological work the ideas of restructuring being implemented by the CPSU and the style and experience of its activity.

### Problems in USSR-DPRK Economic Cooperation

[Editorial Report] Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, March 1988 (Signed to Press 10 March 1988) carries on page 23 under the rubric "Direct Ties, Joint Enterprises" and under the headline "USSR-DPRK: Toward New Forms of Economic Cooperation" a 1,500-word article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Moiseyev, datelined Pyongyang.

Moiseyev begins with a brief report on an interview with V.P. Kabaidze, general director of the Ivanovo machine tool building production association, about an agreement recently signed in Pyongyang on setting up "the 'Ivanovo-Huichon' International Association for the production of processing centers and program-controlled machine tools."

The author reviews at some length other agreements signed by the USSR and the DPRK on production sharing in various economic sectors, including tourism, and speaks of the "sound prospects" for the development of cooperation between the two countries.

Moiseyev concludes: "To put it briefly, the plans are ambitious. Unfortunately, their implementation is not proceeding completely smoothly. Questions of regional cooperation are being resolved only slowly. Oblasts and krais are still firmly in the grips of remnants of the old approach toward the establishment of ties with foreign

partners, when people tried to pass on to the center the solution of basic problems. So far, no new forms have been introduced in the sphere of science and technology.

"It must also be mentioned that deliveries of sewn goods from the DPRK to the Soviet side in 1987 did not reach even 10 percent of the plan. The main reason for this state of affairs was the fact that the USSR Ministry of Light Industry failed to ensure the prompt delivery of textiles and technological materials to Korean enterprises. Both sides ended up losers: We did not receive enough of the goods needed by Soviet people, while our friends' export revenue was reduced. It is evidently necessary to adopt a more considered approach toward the establishment of direct ties, taking into account enterprises' specific circumstances and concentrating efforts on the mobilization of resources and the accurate performance of obligations.

"It seems, however, that these difficulties can be overcome. On the whole, economic cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK is on the ascendant and is moving in step with the times. The Long-Term Program for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation through the Year 2000, now being elaborated by our countries, is called upon to give additional impetus to its development."

### Southeast Asia & Pacific

**Vietnam Proposes Border Talks With PRC**  
*LD241006 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT  
23 Mar 88*

[Text] Hanoi March 23 TASS—The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) today proposed to China holding talks at the foreign ministers or deputy foreign ministers level in Beijing shortly to settle contentious border issues. This proposal is contained in the note of the SRV Foreign Ministry, which Dinh Nho Liem, first deputy foreign minister of Vietnam, handed over to the ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Hanoi.

The document recalls that on March 17 the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry proposed to the Chinese Foreign Ministry conducting talks on settling the differences around the Truong Sa (Spratly) Islands and also other disputable issues concerning the border between the two countries and the Hoang Sa (Paracel) Islands. It was proposed that both sides commit themselves not to use the armed force to settle differences.

The Vietnamese side hopes to receive an answer from the Chinese side to its latest proposal, the note says.



### Further on Demichev Talks With Laotian

PM231607 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin 21 March a delegation from the Lao Supreme People's Assembly headed by Souvannalat Sai-Gnavong, deputy general secretary of the assembly's Standing Committee.

During the conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the sides noted the successful development of Soviet-Lao relations, including in the parliamentary sphere. During the discussion of topical international problems, the sides emphasized the important role of the Soviet initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok and in his interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA for the comprehensive solution of the problems of the Asia and Pacific region.

Restructuring, which has embraced all spheres of Soviet society's life across a broad front, P.N. Demichev stressed, has made it possible to enhance the role of the soviets in resolving questions of socioeconomic development and democratization. These questions will also be examined at the upcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Souvannalat Sai-Gnavong described the Lao parliament's activity and the tasks which the country has been set by the Fifth Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Plenum. The guest reported on the work involved in preparing the draft of the new Lao constitution and with the upcoming elections to the supreme legislative organ. He emphasized that the Soviet Union's experience, with which the delegation has acquainted itself during its visit, will promote the implementation of those plans.

Taking part in the conversation were D.N. Nikitin, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium department on questions of the work of the soviets, and other officials, as well Thongsavat Khaikhamphithoun, Lao ambassador to the USSR.

### Rogachev Continues Philippines Visit

#### Signs Consultations Protocol

LD240928 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 24 TASS—An inter-government Soviet-Philippine protocol on consultations, which is aimed at developing bilateral cooperation, relations of friendship and mutual confidence between the people of the Soviet Union and the Philippines was signed here

today. The document provides for holding annual consultations by the foreign offices of the two countries to examine issues of the international situation and bilateral relations of mutual interest.

The protocol was signed by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, staying in the Philippines on a working visit, and Raul Manglapus, Philippine foreign minister. Speaking at a signing ceremony, Raul Manglapus said that the protocol on consultations was of great importance, since it opens the way for strengthening Philippine-Soviet relations. The minister noted that the signed document was evidence of readiness of the two countries to develop their relations on the basis of friendship and cooperation.

### Calls for Removal of Bases

HK231145 Hong Kong AFP in English  
1132 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Manila, March 22 (AFP)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev on Wednesday reiterated here Moscow's call for the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, saying his country would reciprocate such a move. He issued the statement as the United States and the Philippines announced the lineup of their respective panels for a review of the agreement governing Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. The review is due to begin April 5.

"We stand for lowering the level of military confrontation, the lower (it is) the more secure the region will be. We shall welcome the withdrawal of all foreign troops from other countries and foreign bases from other countries," he said.

Mr Rogachev told reporters that there should be a "reduction of all forces, Soviet and American forces, including conventional forces." "We do not agree with the assertion of Soviet expansionism, that we increased our military presence in the region," he added after calling on his Philippine counterpart, Manuel Yan.

Washington cites the presence of Soviet air and naval forces at Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay as one reason why Manila should allow Clark and Subic to stay. Moscow and Hanoi deny that Cam Ranh is a Soviet base, while the Philippines remains noncommittal on the U.S. bases' future after their lease ends in 1991.

Asked if he would inform President Corazon Aquino of the Soviet stand on the U.S. bases when they meet Thursday, Mr Rogachev replied "perhaps."

U.S. officials dismiss the Soviet demand as propaganda and say Clark and Subic are necessary for Southeast Asian and global security.

Mr Rogachev said he did not take up the bases issue in his talks with Mr Yan.



The Philippines deputy foreign minister, asked by reporters if Manila was using the Rogachev visit to gain leverage ahead of talks with Washington, replied: "We are not using that as a leverage against them. There is no significance in his coming here."

He said he raised the question of the local communist insurgency with Mr Rogachev. Asked about U.S. accusations of Soviet backing for the insurgency, Mr Yan said Moscow had repeatedly denied this.

Mr Rogachev later said after meeting with the archbishop of Manila, Jaime Cardinal Sin, that Moscow welcomed more exchanges between Roman Catholics and the Russian Orthodox church.

"We hope many more Roman Catholics can visit...and vice versa." He said they did not discuss the possibility of a papal visit to Moscow.

Cardinal Sin, who visited the Soviet Union in July and praised what he called a "new openness" in religious worship there, declined to comment after their 45-minute meeting at the archbishop's suburban villa.

#### **Weapons Exhibition Opens in Malaysia**

LD240048 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur March 23 TASS—The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has charted the way towards turning the world into a safer "home" for humanity, said Malaysia's Defence Minister Ahmad Rithauddeen addressing the inauguration ceremony in the Malaysian capital today for the international exhibition of weapons and munitions. Malaysia and the regional ASEAN group, whose member the country is, the defense minister pointed out, wishes that South East Asia be turned into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, a zone free from nuclear weapons. In this nuclear missile age it is more important than ever before to prevent the monopoly of the military in resolving the questions of war and peace, the minister stressed.

More than 350 firms from 26 countries are participating in the exhibition of the arms manufacturing industry, the biggest ever in the region.

The biggest expositions are those of Britain and France. In the opinion of local observers, these two countries are in an active search for ways to restore their military role in the region. General Philippe Morillon, who heads the French delegation, told a press conference that Paris was ready to develop military cooperation with Malaysia and other ASEAN member countries in any form. Of special interest for the French military, as follows from the general's statement is the possibility to participate in a modernization of Malaysia's most important Lumut Naval Base, Perak State.

Among the other biggest participants in the exhibition are the USA and the FRG. The PRC for the first time takes part in such a regional exhibition.

A two-day seminar on the subject "Security of South East Asia and the Pacific Basin the Last Decade of the 20th Century" is to open within the framework of the exhibition tomorrow. The seminar will be addressed by representatives of Malaysia, China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan and a number of other countries of the region.

#### **Near East & South Asia**

##### **Shamir Rejects U.S. Mideast Plan 'Again'**

LD240950 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoy [name indistinct] writes:

Israel's prime minister has again publicly expressed his non-acceptance of the "new American plan" for the settlement in the Middle East advanced by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. "These proposals will not bring peace closer and can even damage it if our objections are not taken into consideration," Yitzhak Shamir said upon his return to Tel Aviv from the USA. He held talks with Ronald Reagan and George Shultz in Washington.

Before taking a plane from the USA, Shamir explained what he means by peace. "The Palestinians' uprising must be crushed if we wish to preserve chances of peace in the Middle East," he asserted. In other words, the Palestinians right to national self-determination and creation of their own independent state will not be recognised, and brutal reprisals, slaying of peaceful people—women and children, the aged—will be continued. Other cardinal elements of the obstructionist stand of Israel's Zionist leaders, apparently, remain unchanged. They are the striving for territorial expansion, the banking on direct inalienable talks with Arabs under the Camp David scenario in conditions of the continued occupation of Arab lands, refusal from any international conference on the Middle East.

The Israeli prime minister admitted that Washington had not exerted any pressure on him during the talks to compel him to accept the U.S. plan. "Everything depends on us," he said. The debates were held in the atmosphere of "mutual understanding, friendship and openness," he noted.

Tel Aviv has virtually been given a free hand to continue its course of arbitrariness and reprisals. It has been given time to implement its criminal plans in the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza strip. It is not accidental that the

influential WALL STREET JOURNAL noted that Shamir is returning home being ever more determined to crush the Palestinians' uprising in Israeli occupied territories.

**Israeli Nuclear Arms, Arab 'Countermeasures'**

TA232017 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress  
in Hebrew 1730 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Israeli media have recently been discussing the problem of the Chinese missiles purchased by the Saudis. What is meant is surface-to-surface missiles termed Wind of the East. These missiles can hit any site in Israel, the paper YEDI'OT AHARONOT notes with concern. The wind of the east may become the wind of panic. HA'ARETZ quotes remarks by Yosi Ben-Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's Office, who says that the missiles the Saudis possess constitute a grave danger to Israel. Ben-Aharon also hinted that Israel will try to destroy the missile facilities, just as it destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981. It was announced in Riyadh that the Saudis only want to defend themselves in view of the escalation of the war in the Persian Gulf. They also promised not to equip themselves with nuclear arms or nuclear warheads for surface-to-surface missiles, but the Israeli public and government are not concealing their concern.

What is the reason for this? The impression is that the real reason lies in creating a pre-nuclear atmosphere in Israel and in the Middle East in general, with the entire region being on the threshold of the nuclear weapons race. This danger is very real indeed. Still, responsibility for this lies first of all with the Israeli leadership, especially the Likud. After all, Israel is the only country in the Middle East which has both a potential for the production of a nuclear bomb and a determined position against signing the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. It makes no difference whether the findings of the Vanunu report are true; the official position of having a bomb in the basement suffices to flash a red light in all the Arab capitals. After all, the Shamir people do not settle for leaks to the effect that Israel has an independent nuclear force. Serious concern was aroused in the Arab world by the experiments of the Jericho-2 missile. This concern is natural since what is involved is an intermediate-range missile that is not worthwhile to use in a small-scale war, but rather in a war that will involve Libya, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and other such countries besides the confrontation states. Naturally, such a comprehensive war will also increase the danger of using nonconventional weapons.

The main source of concern in the Arab world is, as it turns out, Israel's participation in the U.S. Star Wars program. At the instruction of U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense William Taft, this program also includes quite a few Israeli weapons, such as drones and the Arrow missiles. These developed weapons are already

being produced in the Israeli Aircraft Industries plants, Tadiran and REFA'EL [Armament Development Authority], and can surely be used in the Middle East as well. This is also pointed out by those elements in Israel who demand that participation in SDI be expanded still further. Shamir, Sharon, and Moshe Arens, the godfather of the nuclear option, lauded Israel's entry into the U.S. militaristic plan because they viewed it as a useful means of creating additional threats against Syria, Jordan, and other Arab countries. Thus, for example, Arrow missiles are designated for silencing the anti-aircraft defense systems of the neighboring countries. As is known, Israel's security concept views guaranteeing control of the air as a primary goal.

More than once in our station's broadcasts we have issued grave warnings to Israel against participation in the SDI program and against developing the nuclear option. We warned that sooner or later this will entail countermeasures by the Arabs. As a result, we believe, tension in the Middle East will grow, and there will be the danger of the arms race rising to a nonconventional level. This, after all, is dangerous for Israel first and foremost because Israel is more vulnerable than the Arabs.

Regrettably, Shamir and his people are incapable of lending an attentive ear to the warnings emerging out of sincere concern for the security of all regional peoples, including Israel. Jerusalem adheres to the bomb in the basement policy and of expanding participation in the U.S. SDI project despite all the inherent dangers. Now, we believe, it is up to those responsible circles in Israel, including those in the national leadership who regard national security interests as more important than militaristic plans, to make their case.

**Egyptian Minister on 'Improvement' in Relations**  
PM231631 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "Rebirth of Cultural Center"]

[Excerpt] Cairo—The Soviet Cultural Center in Cairo has resumed its activity after a 10-year break.

Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, who is chairman of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, said in conversation with your correspondent, in particular, that this event is one more specific manifestation of the improvement in Soviet-Egyptian relations. The resumption of activity by the Soviet Cultural Center, he pointed out, illustrates the existing trend toward their development not only in diplomatic or economic spheres but also in the cultural sphere.

A permanent dialogue is needed, Butrus Ghali emphasized. [passage omitted]

### **Sytenko Meets With Jordan's Prince Hasan**

*PM231601 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] According to a report from Amman, USSR special envoy M.D. Sytenko met on Sunday with Crown Prince Hasan. During the conversation there was a discussion of the atmosphere surrounding the Geneva talks on the settlement of the Afghan situation and the need for the earliest conclusion of these talks.

Prince Hasan took note of the Soviet Union's constructive and realistic position and advocated that other sides concerned with the Afghan problem follow this example.

### **Wakil Circulates Letter at Islamic Conference**

*LD232124 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT  
23 Mar 88*

[Text] Amman March 23 TASS—An open letter of Afghanistan's Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil was circulated today at a conference of foreign ministers of the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference under way here. The letter to the participants in the Amman meeting emphasizes that the Afghan Government holds a clear and constructive stand in favour of a peaceful political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The statements by President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev opened a real road to this goal. A flexible approach to the quest of settlement was shown by [words indistinct] Pakistani talks under way in Geneva, says the letter. Concrete schedules of the return home of a limited contingent of Soviet troops were, specifically, agreed upon. But now that the talks in Geneva have actually entered the concluding stage, the Pakistani side created artificial obstacles at the talks in an attempt to block the signing of the Geneva agreements, the letter says.

Afghanistan is prepared for the quest of a logical and practical solution to the problem, the letter says. It (?remains) loyal to the spirit of the Geneva talks. Afghanistan is striving for the improvement and widening of relations with its neighbours—Pakistan and Iran.

### **Opposition To Participate in Afghan Elections**

*LD240045 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
2300 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] Preparations have begun in Afghanistan for elections to the National Council, the Republic's parliament. Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, reports:

[Shkirando] According to a decree from the president, the elections to Afghanistan's parliament are due to commence on 5 April. They will be held in accordance

with the law on elections to the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan. The text of this law, published a few days ago in all the mass media of Afghanistan, is arousing great interest among representatives of all groups of Afghan society. This law has absorbed not only the constitutional situation but also the traditions of the Afghan people. The present elections to the country's highest legislative organ will take place on the basis of general, equal, and direct suffrage, with secret voting.

The interests of all citizens of Afghanistan, including representatives of the opposition, have been taken into account in preparing the law on the elections and the actual election campaign. And so, by way of confirmation, one should say that out of 229 constituencies formed for the elections to the Peoples Assembly, the lower chamber of parliament, 54 are on territory which is not controlled by the central power. Eighteen out of the 62 constituencies for the elections to the Senate are also under the control of the opposition. The opposition can submit its own candidates for these constituencies and others, including those situated on territory controlled by people's power.

It is clear that the Afghan state, true to the principles of national reconciliation, is not only not putting up obstacles, but, on the contrary, is inviting all its compatriots from the opposition to actively involve themselves in the election campaign and to elect their own representatives to the country's highest legislative organ.

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

### **Western 'Conspiracies' Against Ethiopia Noted**

*PM231251 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
18 Mar 88 p 3*

[A. Borisov article under the rubric "From a Travel Notebook": "Ethiopia: Time of Trials"]

[Excerpt] Addis Ababa-Moscow—[Passage omitted] When the conflict between Ethiopia and neighboring Somalia became really heated, the U.S. Administration was discussing plans to "move a tactical carrier-borne group up to the shores of the Horn of Africa." At the same time, Addis Ababa was being given to understand, in the admission of D. Korn, former U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia, who left Addis Ababa in the summer of 1985, that in the event of a "break" with the Russians it could once again count on Washington's assistance. "Ethiopia was too great and important to be written off, regardless of what gains could be expected from Somalia." This was how the United States cynically and mercenarily played its double game, causing neighboring states to clash with each other.

The conflict in the Horn of Africa was finally extinguished, but its consequences are making themselves known to this day. Imperialist circles are spinning a web of new conspiracies against progressive Ethiopia. According to Korn, the purpose of his mission was to

"keep a foot in the door." At that time, he testifies, the U.S. Administration was seeking new means of influencing the Ethiopian revolution and, in particular, was discussing plans to give military aid to the Eritrean separatists.

How does Addis Ababa evaluate the present situation? I asked Comrade Badima Berhane Kassate, chief of the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry American Department, about this.

My interlocutor is an experienced diplomat and, in the recent past, was Ethiopian ambassador to Cuba. A clear, concise analysis of problems, firmly placed political accents, a natural bearing, charming manners, gray hairs in a thick head of hair. As regards the immediate prospects for Ethiopia's relations with the United States, Comrade Kassate emphasized that no change is foreseen at present. The whole point is that the present U.S. Administration, guided by the doctrine of "neoglobalism," displays no readiness to develop relations "on equal terms" and, it was stated, does not treat Ethiopia "as an independent state," evidently still reckoning on some favorable "changes" from the viewpoint of Washington's interests.

I enquired about a problem which is being discussed widely in the world press—the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. "Your persistence is starting to bear fruit," I heard the approving reply, and I knew that this was far from being a tribute of diplomatic politeness. People here in Addis Ababa, capital of an influential African country where the OAU headquarters is located, well understand, as I have repeatedly seen for myself, the need for Soviet efforts in a very important area of world politics—the limitation of the arms race and the creation of guarantees of a strong, nuclear-free world.

The fashionable Hilton Hotel in Addis Ababa is a kind of corner of the Western world to which foreigners are accustomed. Businessmen who come to the Ethiopian capital "on business," international officials, rich tourists, and other well-to-do members of the public from all over the world like to stay here. I noticed an American woman holding a notebook and dressed garishly out of keeping with her years, by all appearances a journalist, talking heatedly about something with a local resident in a poolside bar. From individual reports that reached me it was not hard to guess what she would write about, having visited Ethiopia. About the famine which hit a number of the country's provinces as a result of the terrible drought and took many human lives, about the poverty and backwardness in which millions of ordinary working people still live and about which "for some reason" it was considered "inconvenient" to write in the Western press under the imperial regime, about little children begging in the streets of Addis Ababa, about interruptions in the water and electricity supplies, and so forth. Today all this "subject matter," presented in

deliberately somber and hopeless tones, appears constantly in bourgeois publications. The purpose of such articles is obvious—to accuse Ethiopia's present leadership of everything and to make the country's population dissatisfied with the policy it is implementing.

Of course, the young independent state has many problems. And one of them is the struggle against mass famine. This struggle is exacerbated by the regular droughts which befall this long-suffering country. The last of them was last year, and its tragic consequences are visible to the naked eye, as the saying goes.

However, you also cannot fail to see the tremendous effort which the country's leadership and population are making to end this misfortune once and for all. This effort is aimed, above all, at developing the agrarian sector and reorganizing the countryside. To this end, on the one hand, people are being resettled from places which suffer constantly from droughts to regions with a more favorable climate, and, on the other, the tasks of enlarging settlements to replace scattered homesteads and forming the peasantry into cooperatives are being resolved. The republic's fate is largely dependent on resolving this problem.

The Ethiopian Government, which is not yet capable of coping with mass famine on its own, has been forced to request foreign aid. The extent of it, involving specialized UN organizations, is currently set at 1.05 million tonnes of food. As always, the Soviet Union is giving tremendous assistance. Our airmen are involved in moving food. Soviet medical supplies, food, tents, and essentials are arriving in Ethiopia. [passage omitted]

#### **Senegal President Congratulated on Reelection**

PM231645 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Abdou Diouf, president of the Republic of Senegal, a congratulatory telegram on his reelection to this post. It expresses the hope that our countries' friendly relations and mutually useful cooperation will continue to develop in the interests of the Soviet and Senegalese peoples and will serve the cause of strengthening peace and international security.

In a reply message, the Senegalese president voiced the hope that the relations of friendship and cooperation which exist between our two countries will strengthen in the coming years.



### **Beninese Party Delegation Visits Moscow**

PM231209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guests From Benin"]

[Text] A delegation from the Benin People's Revolutionary Party [PRPB] headed by J. Degla, member of the PRPB Central Committee Politburo, was in the USSR 8 through 21 March at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The Beninese guests familiarized themselves with the CPSU's social policy under the conditions of restructuring.

Delegation members had meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, the Culture Department, and the International Department, the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the RSFSR Ministry of Education, and the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute.

The delegation toured the Belorussian SSR, was received at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and local party committees, and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises, medical institutions, and educational establishments.

### **Greetings Exchanged on Mauritian Anniversary**

#### **Foreign Ministries' Telegrams**

PM240913 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Mauritius, an exchange of telegrams has taken place between the foreign ministries of the two countries.

In the USSR Foreign Ministry telegram, a high assessment was made of the development of friendly cooperation between the two countries in diverse spheres for the good of the Soviet and Mauritian people. The conviction was also expressed that strengthening Soviet-Mauritian ties and the growth of interaction between the Soviet Union and Mauritius in international affairs would accord with the interests of both countries and be a joint contribution to building a secure and nonviolent world.

Noting that close cooperation between Mauritius and the Soviet Union has been significant and meaningful for 20 years, S. Boolell, minister of external affairs and emigration, advocated further expanding the sphere of this cooperation and, on behalf of the Mauritian Government, wished the Soviet people peace and prosperity.

### **'Bond of Friendship'**

PM231641 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of Mauritius—the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of independence—the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent V. Ringadoo, governor general of Mauritius, and A. Jugnauth, prime minister of Mauritius, a congratulatory telegram confirming the Soviet side's desire to continue developing friendly relations and equitable cooperation between the Soviet Union and Mauritius in various spheres for the good of our peoples and in the interests of world peace and security.

In a reply telegram, the Mauritian leadership expressed confidence that the bonds of friendship and cooperation between Mauritius and the USSR will strengthen year by year for the good of both countries.

### **East Europe**

#### **CSSR-USSR Troop Exercise Begins 23 March**

LD231222 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 22 TASS—A joint exercise of the central group of troops and the Czechoslovak People's Army has begun today on the territory of Czechoslovakia in the area of Yachymov, Becov, Benatky, Liberec, Decin. The aim of the exercise is to perfect the field training of troops. The exercise involves 17,300 [number as received] men—land troops and air forces.

First deputy chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army Lieutenant General Jiri Bryhta has said that observers from 22 states, parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, have arrived for the exercise. They were invited by the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in accordance with the document of the Stockholm Conference.

#### **Facilities of USSR Forces Transferred to GDR**

LD232113 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Berlin March 23 TASS—Hundreds of people of the city of Waren and soldiers of the GDR National People's Army gathered today for a rally devoted to the transfer of the former facilities of the Group of Soviet Troops in Germany to the trade unions of the GDR. Barracks and township of a unit servicing shorter range missiles OTR-22 had been situated there recently. From now on these facilities will serve as a rest home. This is

due to the withdrawal of Soviet shorter-range missiles from the GDR territory even before the ratification of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Chairman of the Central Board of the Association of Free German Trade Unions Harry Tisch accepted from GDR minister of national defence, General of the Army Heinz Kessler a document of the government of the republic testifying that another rest home supervised by the trade unions appeared in the GDR. On behalf of 9.5 million members of trade unions, Harry Tisch expressed cordial gratitude to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Government of the GDR for the care about the working people which was manifested again in putting at their disposal another facility situated on the bank of picturesque Lake Mueritz See. He wished health and cheerfulness to all who will be vacationing in these localities.

### Further Commentary on Gorbachev SFRY Visit

#### 'Powerful Impetus' for Ties

LD240225 Moscow TASS in English 0112 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 23 TASS—The official friendly visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Yugoslavia and his talks with the Yugoslav leaders have passed in a spirit of friendship, sincerity and complete mutual respect. They were rich in content and successful. This was stressed at today's meeting of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia, the TANJUG news agency reports.

The collective Presidency specially pointed to the exceptional importance of the Yugoslav-Soviet Declaration which, as it was noted at the meeting, enriches the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. This document is a powerful confirmation of the foundations of relations and cooperation, tested in practice, and of the mutual readiness to further develop on these foundations.

The collective Presidency of Yugoslavia positively assessed the exchange of views on Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation and pointed to mutual interest in its further development. During the talks on economic relations and their prospects, the need was pointed to eliminate the existing difficulties, to introduce such modern forms of interaction as co-production and joint capital investment. It was noted that the programme for economic cooperation for the period ending in the year 2000, which was signed, lays down a good foundation for the successful development of economic cooperation on the long-term stable basis.

It was stated that in the course of the talks a useful exchange of views took place on the issues of public development of the two countries, and on a wide range of

international issues. The importance of initiatives aimed at strengthening peace, mutual understanding, democratisation of international political and economic relations and eliminating the seats of crisis in the world was pointed out. Specially stressed was the need for the participation of all countries in these processes, and the great importance of the policy and the movement of nonalignment as a global, independent and nonaligned factor.

The collective Presidency believes, the report says, that the visit by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to Yugoslavia was successful on the whole and that the contents of the talks and the documents adopted were powerful impetus to further development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations and to upgrading cooperation in all areas. This has not only bilateral but also worldwide significance. During the talks note was taken of the sides' interest in pursuing further dialogue on issues concerning both countries.

#### Burlatskiy: Lucky Star Rising

PM231525 Moscow LITERATURNAYA  
GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by Fedor Burlatskiy: "New Thinking and Contemporary Socialism"]

[Text] Belgrade-Moscow—It turns out that relations with Yugoslavia are an important indicator of the approach to problems of contemporary socialism as a whole. That is why M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia was, as is generally acknowledged, a major event both in the development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and in the general life and activity of the socialist world at the stage of its remodeling and reforms.

The Declaration draws on all that is best in the traditions of the past and now finally and irrevocably overcomes the errors, distortions, and deviations of past periods. All of us who were present during the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's Yugoslav Federal Assembly speech and at the other meetings were able to see for themselves the enormous impression made on the Yugoslav friends by the sincere and courageous words of truth about the lessons of the past, about the perspicacity of N.S. Khrushchev and Josip Broz Tito who managed to bring to a close a black chapter in our friendly peoples' relations. There were powerful words also about the significance of the documents adopted in 1955-1956 which consolidated the principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, and cooperation among the socialist countries and have become part of contemporary political culture. Relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia, which have often been like a turbulent, fast-flowing river, are now entering a smooth-flowing, deep reach.

Both we and the Yugoslavs are entering this phase fully equipped with the new thinking. The naive rapture over the advantages of one particular model of socialism is

giving way to a sober evaluation of the achievements and problems of each of them. How perspicacious Lenin was when, at the very dawn of the revolution, he predicted that only from different countries' experience would "integral socialism" arise. How sensible it is of his followers to closely scrutinize the accumulated experience of all the socialist countries without exception and look for the best specimens, honestly comparing them with the development of the capitalist world. Provincial paternalism, mindless criticism of phenomena which do not fit our experience, underestimation of other peoples' right to solve their own problems themselves—they are all survivals of past stereotypes, rejected by our large-scale policy. The amicable quest for the interesting, useful, and positive experience of the other socialist countries, equal exchange of opinions, and candid conversations with our friends about the lessons of mistakes and failures should now be the rule. Is this not the guarantee of the success of our restructuring and of the renewal of the entire communist movement?

Along with other progressive transformations, Yugoslavia has abolished the ritual of organized mass demonstrations marking visits by foreign representatives. But you should have seen what happened when the Soviet delegation went down Prince Milos Street in Belgrade, in Ljubljana's central square, and among the cranes of the most romantic city on the Adriatic—Dubrovnik. It was a real explosion of genuine friendly feelings for Soviet people, for the heralds of restructuring. Yes, relations based not on fear and dependence, but on mutual interests, sympathy, and love have real value.

Our common interests lie in helping one another to overcome the legacy of stagnation and economic crisis. In extending our cooperation to the whole area of economic and social life, to the sphere of science, culture, education, and tourism. In conversation with me, M. Lolic, LCY Central Committee Presidium secretary, noted that the talks between the USSR and Yugoslav leaders had demonstrated that there exist new opportunities for exchange of opinions and for the development of cooperation between institutes, academies, and higher educational establishments in the two countries, between party newspapers and journals, opportunities for holding debates on certain topics of mutual interest.

Our common interests lie in combining the efforts of the Warsaw Pact countries and nonaligned states in conducting an effective policy in the international arena, a policy of disarmament, of overcoming confrontation between East and West, of settling regional conflicts, and of solving other global problems. It was no accident that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia attracted the attention of the foreign media. According to the data of the Federal Secretariat for Information, the visit was covered by more than 370 foreign journalists and more than 290 Yugoslav journalists and television cameramen.

On each occasion it was raining or even snowing the day before the Soviet delegation arrived in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Dubrovnik, but while they were in those cities

the bright southern sun shone. The Yugoslavs joked: "Gorbachev was born under a lucky star." There is no doubt, I believe, that a lucky star is rising again in the firmament of relations between the peoples of our two countries.

### **Bulgaria Marks Bilateral Treaty's 40th Jubilee**

#### **Sends USSR Greetings**

*PM221219 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 1*

[Bulgarian leaders greet Soviet counterparts on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary

Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman

Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and the entire Bulgarian people and our own account we convey to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, the fraternal Soviet people, and you personally most cordial greetings on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR.

Concluded in the conditions of the victorious socialist revolution in Bulgaria and proclaiming the centuries-old friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples as the fundamental law of our mutual relations, the 18 March 1948 treaty is a historic landmark in the annals of the new Bulgaria. It embodied the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and became a reliable mainstay and guarantee of national independence, state sovereignty, and socialist building in our country and an effective factor for the socialist community's unity and cohesion and for security and peace in the Balkans and in Europe.

During the past 4 decades fruitful Bulgarian-Soviet relations, enriched by the second treaty of alliance signed in 1967, have steadily developed and ascended to reach a high level of maturity. Our motherland's economic, social, and spiritual progress is the result of intense creative labor by the Bulgarian people, fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union, and close collaboration with the Warsaw Pact and CEMA states.

The decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress and the profound processes of revolutionary restructuring occurring in both countries create new opportunities and prospects for the development of Bulgarian-Soviet relations at the present crucial stage. We share the belief that the process of implementing the accords reached at top level shapes mutual ties which are qualitatively new in terms of their content and objectives and creates more highly effective forms of joint production activity and broad exchange in the political, scientific, and cultural spheres.

We fully support the Soviet Union's large-scale historic initiatives for the prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe and the renewal of international relations and for the implementation and assertion of universal values. We perceive the further foreign policy activeness and collaboration of the allied states and the assertion of the new political thinking in the world as the path to and guarantee of the implementation of a large-scale program for a nuclear-free world, a world without violence and wars, for the creation of an all-embracing system of peace and security on the planet, for mankind's survival.

On the day of our common memorable anniversary we wish you, dear comrades, and the great Soviet people new successes in implementing the CPSU's strategy in the cause of the restructuring and renewal of Soviet society, in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman

Georgi Atanasov, Bulgarian Council of Ministers chairman

### **Soviets Reciprocate**

PM221209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 1

[Greetings of Soviet leadership bodies to Bulgaria's Zhivkov and Atanasov on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman

Comrade Georgi Atanasov, Bulgarian Council of Ministers chairman

Dear Comrades!

On the occasion of the memorable date—the 40th anniversary of the conclusion of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria—the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and Soviet people cordially greet you and the entire fraternal Bulgarian people.

Life has proved that the unbreakable alliance created by this treaty profoundly accords with the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples. The principles of equality and fraternity, of comradely solidarity and cooperation, which were developed in the 1967 Soviet-Bulgarian treaty reliably serve the strengthening of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship, the deepening of ties, and the implementation of large-scale programs in all spheres of collaboration.

The fundamental coincidence of the goals and tasks of restructuring in the USSR and Bulgaria creates new prerequisites for raising the quality and level of Soviet-Bulgarian relations and for more fruitful exchange of experience in socialist building.

Closely cooperating in the international arena, the Soviet Union and people's Bulgaria, together with the other Warsaw Pact states, pursue an open and realistic policy aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war and creating an all-embracing system of international security.

On the 40th anniversary of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Bulgaria we wish you, dear comrades, and all working people of the Bulgarian People's Republic the successful implementation of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the national party conference. We are convinced the unbreakable Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and all-around cooperation will continue to steadily develop for the benefit of our peoples, in the interests of peace and progress.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

### **Shevardnadze, Mladenov Exchange Notes**

PM221201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] Greetings telegrams have been exchanged between the foreign ministers of the USSR and Bulgaria on the 40th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

E.A. Shevardnadze's telegram expresses the firm confidence that in accordance with the will of both peoples the all-around cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria will develop toward the attainment of qualitatively new heights—an outcome which accords fully with the



tasks of socialist building and the interests of intensifying the collaboration among all socialist community states in the struggle to end the arms race, achieve real disarmament, and create an all-embracing system of international security.

P. Mladenov's telegram stresses that Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation and collaboration have been increasing in scale since the 27th CPSU and 13th BCP Congresses formulated the two fraternal countries' foreign policy courses, which fully serve the historic tasks of restructuring.

**Slyunkov, Lukyanov Attend Meeting**

*LD172333 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1800 GMT 17 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A festive assembly was held today in Moscow in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and Bulgaria. In the presidium were Comrades Slyunkov, Lukyanov, and other officials. The speakers emphasized that the steadily strengthening relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria are actively assisting in solving the large-scale creative tasks confronting their working people, and in reinforcing peace and security in Europe and worldwide.

**Bulgaria 'Needs' USSR**

*PM231251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88  
First Edition p 5*

[Article by Grigor Stoichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Bulgarian Council of Ministers deputy chairman: "Like the Sun and the Air..."]

[Text] There are events of key significance in the rich chronicle of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship which remain historic and permanent despite the passage of time. One such event was the conclusion of the first Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Four decades have elapsed since that day—18 March 1948—and during this period the significance of this document which is of vital importance for our country has clearly manifested itself. The treaty embodied the ancient friendship between our fraternal peoples, which has its roots deep in history. The treaty, which is imbued with the principles of proletarian internationalism and based on mutual respect for interests, full equality, independence and national sovereignty, cooperation and mutual assistance, has become a true charter recording the fraternity between the two peoples.

The treaty was concluded at a time when the fields of World War II were still smoking, when our country had still not smashed completely the forces of the overthrown

monarchy and the bourgeoisie, and when imperialism was putting pressure on the young republic in an attempt to isolate it in the international arena. From both the political and economic viewpoints the treaty became a most important guarantee of our country's independence and sovereignty and of its equitable participation in resolving international problems and in international cooperation. But the most important element is that it created favorable conditions for the implementation of the main aim of BCP policy—the transformation of Bulgaria from a backward agrarian country into an economically strong, socially rich socialist state with a high standard of culture and international prestige. Time has fully confirmed the profoundly astute words of Georgiy Dimitrov, whose signature authenticated the treaty, that Bulgaria needs its friendship with the Soviet Union as much as any living thing needs the sun and the air.

I can say with complete justification that the treaty was the material embodiment of Dimitrov's precept that the comprehensive development and deepening of relations with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of our foreign policy. One of the merits of the April 1956 party plenum consists in the fact that these relations were put on a qualitatively new footing.

The political, economic, and social changes which have ensued in our country—like the changes in the international situation, which is characterized by an increase in the role of the socialist community and the Soviet Union—have lead to a new phase in the development of Bulgarian-Soviet ties. It is precisely this new phase which was expressed in the second treaty concluded 12 May 1967. The second treaty was essentially the organic continuation of the first treaty under new conditions, taking into consideration what had been achieved as well as future requirements.

The established treaty basis of Bulgarian-Soviet relations has played a particularly important role in building Bulgaria as a modern developed socialist state. As is well known, our country has made rapid upward progress during its socialist chronology. National income has increased by a factor of 8.5, the capital-labor ratio by a factor of 12, and the overall volume of agricultural output by a factor of 2.5. New economic sectors have arisen. More than 200 large enterprises and structures which essentially have shaped the country's industrial panorama have been constructed with the USSR's assistance for Soviet projects based on Soviet equipment and using Soviet specialists. The atomic complex at Kozloduy, the chemical complex at Devnya, the timber complex at Silistra, the metallurgical industry capacities in Kremikovtsi and Pernik, the chemical combine at Dimitrograd, and the cement industry capacities at Devnya and Temelkovo, the petrochemical combine at Burgas, the steel-smelting plant in the city of Rakovski, and others are the pride of our economy.

The Soviet land has offered us tremendous aid in the process of mechanizing our agriculture and transforming it from Europe's raw material appendage into one of the continent's stable developed agrarian bases.

The aid which our country has obtained in developing culture and education, training scientific cadres, and educating students is invaluable. Many of them are now the leaders of key production sectors.

Our country's cooperation and involvement in timber extraction in the Komi ASSR and in constructing USSR gas and chemical industry facilities is continuing to expand. This is an extremely important factor in assisting our economy by supplying it with an additional quantity of timber, cast iron, steel, cellulose, oil, gas, and other strategic raw materials of which our country does not have an abundance.

Bulgaria's economy is developing in close connection and interaction with the economy of the Soviet land and the USSR invariably occupies first place in the list of our foreign economic partners. We export to the USSR machines, equipment, electronics, light, and food industry goods, agricultural output, and other commodities. We import machines, equipment, agricultural equipment, thermal power resources, raw materials, supplies, and so on. Both countries are working persistently to improve the structures and quality of the reciprocally delivered output. Joint enterprises and international science-and-production associations are being set up. Joint decisions are being adopted regarding creating conditions for the development of new forms of cooperation.

Life has confirmed incontrovertibly that treaty relations with the USSR in unity with the multilateral Warsaw Pact have not only created and are creating the conditions for socialist Bulgaria to develop continually and dynamically in all spheres but are also giving our people confidence and tranquility in all the complex situations created by modern imperialism.

Treaties between Bulgaria and the USSR are imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism and concern for the fate of mankind. Both sides have pledged to struggle jointly for peace, ensure security in Europe and throughout the world, develop good-neighborly relations, and wage a struggle for disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Both countries' positions wholly coincide on all international questions and are in complete accord with the positions of the countries of the socialist community. The Soviet land's principled constructive position on cardinal problems of our time is leading to a reduction in tension in the military sphere. An illustration of this is the USSR-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Our country is celebrating the 40th anniversary of the conclusion of the first Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance in an

atmosphere of restructuring and a profound breakthrough in Bulgaria's development. This new phase conforms with the 13th BCP Congress' strategic course of achieving qualitatively new growth and with the directives and decisions of the BCP Central Committee July and November (1987) Plenums. The main, basic element in this process is the directives of the July conception of the further building of socialism in Bulgaria. Our party has shown by its new large-scale creative approach that it can assess the fundamentally new situation that has emerged and promote the appropriate tasks boldly, resolutely, grandly, with a sense of responsibility, in a scientifically well-founded manner, and with the utmost realism.

In its profound essence the July conception is a major historic fateful and revolutionary matter affecting all aspects of the country's political, social, economic, and cultural life. Moreover it was not only formulated but the process of implementing it has already begun. Changes have been effected in the upper echelons of state management and economic organizations and new-type associations have been set up on the principles of self-management, which is creating conditions for the development of democratism and creative forces in the labor collectives. A new territorial administrative division has been implemented which sets apart new-type territorial communities—communes, municipalities, and okrugs. Changes have taken place in the attributes of power. Documents have been adopted regarding the administration and management of socialist property, and others.

All this is geared to the further progressive development of social processes in our society and toward the affirmation of the principle of self-management as a leading one in the course of the further building of socialism in our country.

On the way to achieving this high aim the experience of restructuring in the Soviet Union is assuming tremendous importance for us. The 27th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenum documents and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's articles and speeches have expounded new theoretical directives for the further development of socialism in the USSR and revolutionary theory under contemporary conditions. It is good that, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed, the "fundamental coincidence of the aims and avenues of restructuring in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union is strengthening our determination to see through to its conclusion the revolutionary cause which we have espoused."

We are profoundly convinced that the restructuring being implemented in both countries will help to boost friendship and cooperation to a qualitatively new level and to apply new forms en route to the further rapprochement of our parties, countries, and peoples. The implementation of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical

Cooperation Between the USSR and Bulgaria Through the Year 2000 is a reliable material basis for these processes. The further upward movement of our relations is an indisputably favorable factor also for strengthening the unity and might of the socialist community and its collective organizations—the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. It will ultimately help to increase the prestige and attractive force of socialism and strengthen its international positions. The treaty concluded between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union 40 years ago has its place in this historic movement.

### **Nikonov Makes Working Visit to Bulgaria**

#### **Meets Zhivkov**

*PM161557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "On Hospitable Bulgarian Land"]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Mar—T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman, today received V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, who is here on a working visit.

During a conversation which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the Bulgarian leader talked about the large-scale work to implement the decisions of the BCP national conference directed at restructuring all spheres of social life. He noted the great significance for economic activity and management of the forthcoming act of transferring socialist property to the working collectives and communities, which is to become the basis for the shift to self-management and for the wide utilization of economic regulators. An integral part of this nationwide process is also the formation of a new organizational structure for agriculture, the basic link of which is the integrated economically accountable [khoz-raschetnyy] team. V.P. Nikonov provided information on the preparation now under way in the Soviet Union for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and on the elaboration of more democratic political and economic structures. He dwelt particularly on the restructuring of the economy's agrarian sector, stressing the paramount importance of renewing the sector's material and technical base. In this connection the sides paid particular attention to the necessity of pooling efforts to create new forms of agricultural technology and of equipment for the processing industry, and also developing direct ties between Soviet and Bulgarian agro-industrial complexes and associations with the aim of accelerating the solution of foodstuff tasks.

V. Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, and L.I. Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, were present at the meeting.

Today V.P. Nikonov and the officials accompanying him acquainted themselves with enterprises in the agro-industrial complex in Plovdiv Okrug—one of the main agricultural regions in Bulgaria.

In Sadovo the Soviet guests visited a group of processing enterprises which supply a small region of 50,000-60,000 people with various types of foodstuffs. In conversation with the enterprise leaders V.P. Nikonov noted the great importance of such modern small production facilities for implementing programs for local food self-sufficiency. He stressed the positive nature of experience accumulated by the Bulgarian friends in creating and utilizing small enterprises, and the need to pool the efforts of Soviet and Bulgarian specialists in the production of the appropriate manufacturing equipment.

The output of the "Brigada" cannery in Asenovgrad is known throughout the country. The leaders and specialists acquainted the Soviet guest with the manufacturing technology for 45 types of children's food prepared from fruits and vegetables which are highly calorific and satisfy the requirements of children of different ages. V.P. Nikonov noted the advantages of the modern manufacturing processes and expressed the wish for the inhabitants of Asenovgrad to exchange their work experience more widely with related Soviet enterprises.

In the city of Purvenets the Soviet guest visited a shop for the industrial cultivation of seedlings and familiarized himself with an automated system for the control of agricultural and processing industry production and for yield programming, which is being effectively utilized in a leading farm in the okrug—the G. Dimitrov science and production complex.

At the state testing center for tractors and agricultural equipment its director I. Rusev told the CPSU Central Committee secretary about the progressive new developments by Bulgarian specialists in rationalizing existing equipment models. Particular interest was aroused by an electrostatic unit for spraying plants against pests which was invented by the workers at the center.

V. Tsanov accompanied V.P. Nikonov on his trip around Plovdiv Okrug. In the evening the Soviet guest returned to Sofia.

#### **Further on Tour**

*PM171649 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Varna, 11 Mar—The working visit to Bulgaria by V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, is continuing. Today the Soviet guest, accompanied by V. Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, acquainted himself with agro-industrial complex enterprises in Varna Okrug.

The "Rhodopa" industrial livestock combine in the city of Tolbukhin is a high-grade enterprise closely associated with the territory's agrarian sector. A total of 35,000 tonnes of meat are processed here annually. This meat comes directly from its own livestock farms. The enterprise possesses highly efficient equipment and modern technologies—from carcass dressing to the production of a broad range of prepacked output—sausages, hams, pates, stuffing, and various kinds of semimanufactures.

V.P. Nikonov toured the combine workshops, chatted with its workers, inquired about their work and living conditions, and visited an exhibition of "Rhodopa's" prepared output.

The Tolbukhin dairy industry farm enterprise buys and processes 150,000 tonnes of milk per year. High-productivity equipment and excellent organization of the work process have enabled the collective to occupy a leading place in the sector in terms of labor productivity. The enterprise's output immediately enters the okrug trade network.

After familiarizing himself with the work of leading food industry enterprises the CPSU Central Committee secretary gave a high assessment of the collectives' efforts in implementing the food program and their contribution to meeting the population's requirements for products. In conversations with leaders and specialists the idea was expressed that it is necessary to galvanize the exchange of experience in this sphere and cooperation in manufacturing equipment that meets contemporary standards.

During a visit to the "Dobrudzha" [name as published] Wheat and Sunflower Research Institute laboratory complex, V.P. Nikonov was acquainted with breeding work to derive new high-yield varieties of these crops. The "Yantar" wheat hybrid—the pride of the collective—can produce, for instance, 120-130 quintals of grain per hectare. "Albena," "Dobrich," and "Superstar"—these sunflower hybrids are also considered some of the best in the world.

Traditions of exchanging the best hybrid forms and work experience in their cultivation have long been established between Soviet and Bulgarian breeders. During V.P. Nikonov's conversations at the institute the question was raised of expanding in quantitative and qualitative terms the scale of tests in the USSR not only of the most successful Bulgarian hybrids but also the progressive technology for their cultivation which has been developed here.

A meeting took place between V.P. Nikonov and the institute's collective. He pointed out that the pooling of the two countries' efforts in the sphere of self-sufficiency in food products as part of resolving the food program and the exchange of mutually useful experience still cannot be deemed satisfactory. This experience must be extended purposefully in both countries and the most

progressive effective forms selected from it. On both sides, he said, we are investing a great deal of effort and money in our cooperation; however, as yet the practical return is intolerably small. All interested departments should primarily turn their attention to the implementation of the cooperation aims which have been outlined and constantly check the results of our joint labor against the achievements of world practice. The CPSU Central Committee secretary made a number of remarks regarding Soviet-Bulgarian agro-industrial complex enterprises, stressing the promising nature of this progressive avenue of integration.

In conclusion V.P. Nikonov dwelt on the problems of restructuring the Soviet agro-industrial complex at the present stage and the means to resolve them.

**Bulgaria's Todorov Stops Over in Moscow**  
*LD212045 Moscow TASS International Service*  
*in Russian 1045 GMT 21 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar (TASS)—A delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly headed by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Bulgarian National Assembly chairman, stopped over in Moscow 20-21 March on his way from Tokyo to Sofia by air.

During their stay in Moscow the delegation had meetings and conversations with Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Georgi Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversations.

**BCP Delegation's 14-18 March Visit Detailed**  
*PM221007 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the BCP, a delegation of BCP workers headed by T. Kyurkchiev, BCP Central Committee candidate member and BCP Central Committee Organizational Department deputy chief, which familiarized itself with CPSU experience in the sphere of using party information and working with working people's letters under the conditions of restructuring, was in the Soviet Union 14 through 18 March.

The Bulgarian comrades had conversations in CPSU Central Committee departments, the Leningrad Party Obkom, and Leningrad party organizations.



**Bulgaria's Mladenov Lauds Soviet Balkan Stance**  
*PM240915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev interview with Petr Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Bulgarian foreign minister: "Joint Solution"]

[Text] Sofia, 18 Mar—[Mladenov] M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the SFRY Federal Assembly is the latest striking manifestation of the new political thinking. It outlines clear ways to solve both the global and the regional problems facing mankind and further democratize international relations.

Bulgaria expresses its exceptional satisfaction in connection with the Soviet leader's thoughts on the results of the Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of the six Balkan states and also his specific ideas in the sphere of detente in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean area.

We are delighted by his assessment of the Belgrade meeting as a valuable regional contribution to the normalization of the Europe-wide situation. We value highly the Soviet Union's support for the latest proposals made by Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece designed to reduce military activeness in the Balkans.

In fact, as a result of the discussion of vitally important problems of Balkan-wide significance and the emergence of a number of concrete initiatives, the Belgrade meeting of Balkan countries' foreign ministers has given a powerful fillip to cooperation and good-neighborliness and has thus enriched and stimulated the all-European process.

Of great political significance are the Soviet Union's proposals regarding the withdrawal from the peninsula's territory of all foreign troops and military bases and also its readiness to provide all the requisite guarantees if it is decided to create a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans. The Soviet Union's determination to cooperate with Balkan states in the sphere of environmental protection will also, indisputably, reinforce our efforts and speed up joint work in this direction.

Our permanent interest in the problems of the Mediterranean is well known. This is because we are talking about a region of political, geographical, and strategic importance directly bordering on our country. That is why Bulgaria welcomes the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's concrete proposals regarding the normalization of the situation in the Mediterranean. It is ready to participate actively, together with all Mediterranean states, in their discussion just as it is ready to participate in all undertakings designed to strengthen security and confidence in this part of the world.

## West Europe

### Shevardnadze Holds 'Frank' Talks in Lisbon

#### Met by Foreign Minister

*LD241158 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT*  
*24 Mar 88*

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR today made a stop in Portugal en route from Washington to Moscow. During his stay in Portugal he will conduct talks with Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro, will meet President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

At Lisbon Airport Shevardnadze was met by Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro and other officials.

#### Received by President Soares

*LD241430 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT*  
*24 Mar 88*

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, made a stop-over in Lisbon on his way home from Washington.

He was received by Portuguese President Mario Soares, met with Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and conferred with Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro.

Shevardnadze conveyed greetings and good wishes from Mikhail Gorbachev to the president and other leaders of Portugal.

The meetings focussed on the present-day international situation and the state of and prospects for developing Soviet-Portuguese relations.

Note was taken of the trend for lower tension, broader cooperation and stronger trust in world politics.

Both sides voiced a high opinion of the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in December 1987 and stressed the significance of the signature of the INF treaty there.

The Portuguese leaders were briefed on the Soviet-U.S. talks which took place in Washington on March 21-23.

When regional conflicts were examined, most attention was paid to the situation in southern Africa.

The meetings were of a friendly nature and passed in a frank and constructive atmosphere.

### **Leaves Lisbon for Home**

LD241620 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, left Portugal for Moscow today.

At Lisbon Airport he was seen off by Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Portuguese minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

### **Gorbachev Answers Letter From French Veterans**

LD231434 Moscow World Service in English  
1400 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev has answered an appeal addressed to him by the National Council of the French Association of War Veterans and Victims. In its messages to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, and France, the association welcomed the Soviet-American INF Treaty and expressed hope that positive results would be reached at the Soviet-American talks on strategic weapons. [passage omitted]

#### **'Text' of Message**

PM241027 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 1

['Text' of message from Mikhail Gorbachev to the National Council of the French Republican Association of Veterans and Victims of War, presented to its national chairman, Georges Dussain, at the USSR Embassy in Paris on 23 March]

[Text] To the National Council of the French Republican Association of Veterans and Victims of War

Dear Friends,

It is with satisfaction that I accept your high opinion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is indeed the first step to real disarmament.

Just like you, the Soviet people are for expediting the process of general disarmament by ratifying this treaty. It is only by proceeding along this path that humanity's survival can be ensured.

A special role in accomplishing this historic task belongs to Europe with its political culture, possibilities, authority, and dramatic experience of devastating wars. War veterans, you know this well.

You may rest assured that we shall do everything depending on us to come to a world without weapons, without violence, and without wars. This is the primary aim of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

It is our deep conviction that the "nuclear deterrence" concept and the policy of modernizing and building up the nuclear potential based on it do not only belong to yesterday, but cross out tomorrow. New thinking and new approaches are needed to the problems of European and general security.

We share your hopes for an early conclusion of a treaty for halving the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States on condition, of course, that weapons will be kept out of space.

It is time, and ever more urgent, to begin serious talks on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe. There is a real possibility as early as this year to sign a convention for banning and destroying chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union supports the idea of creating a corridor and zones free from weapons of mass destruction and from offensive weapons systems and zones of mutual trust—in the north and central part of our continent, in the Balkans, and in the Mediterranean.

It is for demilitarizing the "common European home" to the maximum possible degree.

We hope that West European states, including France, will join in efforts in this direction.

The founder of your organization, Henri Barbusse, devoted his life to realizing the idea of peace among nations.

I wish you success with continuing the noble international cause started by the celebrated humanist writer.

M. Gorbachev

#### **Group Comments on Reply**

PM241029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 1

[Text] A reply by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to a message from the National Council of the French Republican War Veterans and Victims Association (ARAC) was handed over at the Embassy of the USSR in France today. The reply was accepted by Georges Doussin, national chairman of this influential association with a membership of over 100,000.

"We are deeply satisfied with Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the national council of our association," he said.

"The ideas which are expressed in it—about the need to build a world without weapons, without violence and wars, and about new approaches to European and universal security issues—fully accord with the provisions of the final document which was adopted at the second

international meeting of war veterans, resistance movement members, and war victims in Vienna in 1986." [Moscow TASS in English at 2120 GMT on 23 March carries a similar report, adding: "'A war on war' is the main slogan of our association's activities. Guided by the interests of the struggle for peace, we ardently welcome the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and come out in favour of further resolute steps along the road of universal disarmament.

"Unfortunately, the policy of the leaders of France who in every way hinder the process of disarmament does not fit into the logic of the new thinking which arises from the treaty. One of our principal aims now is to explain this to broad sections of French people." "We are profoundly gratified that Mikhail Gorbachev was the first to give a reply to our message."

**Gorbachev Meeting With Italian CP Head Viewed**  
*PM240919 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Ties Are Strengthening"]

[Text] Rome, 18 Mar—A meeting has taken place here between A. Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), and V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, who is in Italy at the invitation of the PCI Central Committee. In the course of the meeting, in which G. Napolitano and A. Rubbi, members of the PCI leadership, took part, certain problems in the contemporary international situation and also questions concerning the upcoming meeting between A. Natta and M.S. Gorbachev, arranged during the PCI general secretary's stay in Moscow to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Great October, were discussed.

**Delegation Visits Italy To Sell Nuclear Plant**  
*AU241440 Paris AFP in English 1801 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] Rome, March 23 (AFP)—A Soviet delegation is visiting Italy to try and sell nuclear power plants during an electronics, aerospace and nuclear trade show being held here, an informed source said Wednesday.

Nuclear power has met fierce opposition in Italy, where a referendum in November resulted in the cancellation of the country's programme to build nuclear power plants and the suspension of work on the Montalto di Castro plant near Rome. But even the imminent anniversary of the Soviet nuclear disaster at Chernobyl did not seem to deter the representatives of the Soviet company Atomenenergoeksport, visiting Italy for the first time.

Valeriy Kulikov, the company's vice-president, said he realized the visit had not come at the best time, but added that the intention was to strike deals with Italian

companies to "build nuclear power plants together in developing countries." The power plant the Soviet Union is offering foreign buyers is the VVER pressurized-water reactor, which is similar to the western PWR plant. Asked about Chernobyl-type reactors, Mr. Kulikov said, "We don't make them any more."

Mr. Kulikov added that the Soviet Union could also supply complete turnkey nuclear research centres with equipment for producing radio-isotopes, for materials testing, medical diagnosis and therapy for some forms of cancer, as well as particle accelerators for use in nuclear physics.

A Soviet leaflet on safety systems handed out at the exhibition asserted that the Soviet Union's "long experience in the use of nuclear equipment has proved that it involves no danger and has no negative effects on the environment."

**Tolkunov Delegation Returns From Italy**  
*PM231609 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88*  
*Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general headline "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group, which has been visiting Italy and San Marino, returned to Moscow 20 March.

The delegation was met at the airport by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and other officials.

**NOVOSTI Chief Falin Criticizes Deutsche Welle**  
*DW221315 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER*  
*ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Mar 88 p 6*

[Article by "ME": "Falin Complains About Deutsche Welle"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 21 March—In an interview with Deutsche Welle, a short-wave transmitter beaming broadcasts to other countries, Valentin Falin, former Soviet ambassador to Bonn and now chief of the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI, has complained about that station's programs. Asked about relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union in the era of glasnost and perestroika, he said: "I would say that our relations are improving, and unless Deutsche Welle hinders us—the Soviet Union and the Federal Government—our relations will not deteriorate, but continue to improve. I must say that the tone and the words that Deutsche Welle chooses are marked by a special lack of good will and by an uncommon—let me formulate it this way—prejudice against past, present, and future events in our country."

Deutsche Welle compares Falin's statements with the speech Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev gave to his Central Committee on 18 February. In that speech Gorbachev—without naming anyone—complained about "broadcasting voices" spreading "provocative lies about the aggravated struggle in Soviet society and among the Soviet leadership." Gorbachev said that "all this" had to "be considered in our ideological work and propaganda, and necessary measures" had to be "initiated." On 1 March, a Soviet note was presented in Washington protesting programs broadcast by the Voice of America.

Officials at the Cologne radio station are surprised to hear that Falin seems to believe that Deutsche Welle should demonstrate "goodwill." They are equally surprised at his remark about the station's jamming activities. They say that, on the contrary, Deutsche Welle is jammed by the Soviet Union, and the effectiveness of Soviet jammers targeted against it has increased in recent months. They have, in particular, been intensified in Soviet Asia to an extent that it is hardly possible to receive the Russian program there at all, officials say.

**Petrovskiy Continues Consultations in Stockholm**  
*PM231701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Consultations Held"]

[Text] Stockholm, 18 Mar—Soviet-Swedish political consultations have taken place here in which V.P. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and P. Schori, Swedish Foreign Ministry under secretary, took part.

The consultations took place in the framework of the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Sweden, which has been developed anew as a result of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Swedish Prime Minister I. Carlsson during the latter's official visit to the Soviet Union in April 1986, and the talks between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and I. Carlsson during the official visit to Sweden by the head of the Soviet Government in January.

A broad range of questions about strengthening universal security and peace on the planet and enhancing the role of multilateral diplomacy in resolving pressing problems of the day—dissarmament above all—were discussed in the course of the consultations. The Swedish side was informed of the state of affairs at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments in light of the accords secured during the Washington summit in December 1987. The Soviet side confirmed its firm intention to complete, by the beginning of U.S. President R. Reagan's visit to the USSR, the elaboration of a draft treaty on a 50-percent reduction in the sides' strategic offensive armaments while simultaneously observing the 1972 ABM Treaty.

Questions associated with the conclusion of a convention on a chemical weapons ban and the achievement of progress at talks on reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe were discussed. Great attention was devoted to the upcoming work this summer of the UN General Assembly's Third Special Session on Disarmament, which is intended to promote the continuation of the process of real nuclear disarmament initiated by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The sides discussed the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his Murmansk speech. The Swedish side noted that these initiatives, developed during N.I. Ryzhkov's visit to Sweden, have been greeted with interest and are being attentively studied by the Swedish Foreign Ministry.

The consultations touched on questions of a political settlement in various regions of the planet—the Near East, Central America, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf region. An exchange of opinions took place on the creation of an all-embracing system of international security, taking into consideration the dialogue which is now successfully developing within the UN framework. In this connection an accord was reached on holding special consultations on this question in Moscow this June between the representatives of the two countries' foreign ministries.

By and large the conversations, in which B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador in Sweden, took part, revealed the coincidence of USSR and Swedish positions on the main problems of preserving and consolidating peace, curbing the arms race, strengthening universal security, and removing the threat of nuclear war, and the fact that there are possibilities for the further development of cooperation between the two countries in the international arena in resolving these problems.

### **Supreme Soviet Group Tours Scandinavia**

**'Lively Exchange' in Norway**  
*LD240239 Moscow TASS International Service*  
*in Russian 1945 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Excerpts] Oslo, 23 Mar (TASS)—The group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is on a trip around the countries of northern Europe, today completed its working visit to Norway. In Oslo the delegation met with T. Stoltenberg, the country's foreign minister, the leaders of the parliamentary factions in the Storting (Parliament), and representatives of women's organizations, and spent some time in the Norway-Soviet Union Friendship Society.

The main aim of the visit, stated the head of the Soviet delegation, was to discuss topical contemporary problems; to explain to the statesmen, parliamentarians, and public of the Scandinavian countries the peace-loving orientation of the USSR's foreign policy and the Soviet Union's latest large-scale initiatives and practical steps



in the area of disarmament; and to discuss matters pertaining to bilateral relations. A great deal of attention is being given to examining the comprehensive program for reinforcing security, cooperation, and trust in northern Europe set out by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk and given concrete form during the visit to Norway by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

During the conversations in the Storting, there was a discussion of the appeal by the commissions for foreign affairs of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and parliamentarians of northern Europe, the United States, and Canada. A lively exchange of views was held on matters relating to participation by parliamentarians in discussions of problems connected with easing military confrontation in the north European region. The conversation between the head of the Soviet delegation and representatives of Norwegian women's organizations and with the leadership of the Norway-Soviet Union Friendship Society, was also interesting and substantive.

Our visit to Norway has been extremely useful from the point of view of explaining the two countries' standpoints on the most important contemporary issues, and the views of their leaders and parliamentarians on ways of solving international, European, and regional problems, said V.S. Shevchenko. We hope that our stay here and the frank conversation that has been held will promote the further development of goodneighborly relations between the USSR and Norway and the reinforcement of mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

#### **Arrives in Sweden**

*LD240242 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
2050 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] The group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, led by Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived in Stockholm from Oslo.

The Soviet parliamentarians are touring the countries of northern Europe in order to explain to the statesmen and parliamentary deputies of the Scandinavian countries the large-scale Soviet initiatives put forward in recent times by the USSR in the international arena.

#### **Open Talks in Sweden**

*LD240258 Moscow TASS in English 0056 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Stockholm March 24 TASS—A group of deputies of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR, led by Valentina Shevchenko, vice president of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium, met Wednesday with Ingemund Bengtsson, chairman of the Swedish Riksdag (Parliament).

The Soviet parliamentarians are touring Nordic Europe to expound to statesmen and parliamentary deputies in Scandinavian countries large-scale Soviet initiatives advanced in the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk and specified during the visits to Sweden and Norway by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

During the conversation, it was said that the development of contacts between parliamentarians of the two countries was of much importance for building up confidence and strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples of Sweden and the USSR.

It was noted that interparliamentary ties between the two countries saw progress.

Last year's visit to the Soviet Union by a Riksdag delegation, led by Bengtsson, and a visit to Sweden by a delegation of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet, led by Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union, were very important in this respect.

The Swedish Riksdag also invited a Supreme Soviet delegation to come to Sweden on an official visit.

Such visits play an important role in the consolidation and development of all-round contacts between Swedish and Soviet parliamentarians.

Touching on a Soviet-advanced comprehensive programme of strengthening security, promoting cooperation and building up trust in the north of the planet, the Soviet parliamentarians drew the attention in this connection to the appeal by the foreign affairs commissions of the Supreme Soviet's chambers to the parliaments and parliamentarians of Nordic states, the United States and Canada.

Bengtsson said that the appeal was now attentively studied by Riksdag deputies. Free exchanges of opinions and discussions between parliamentarians of the two countries on issues touched on in the appeal were very useful, he said.

**Ivashko Delegation Returns From FRG Visit**  
*PM240901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] The CPSU delegation headed by V.A. Ivashko, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, which had been in the FRG at the invitation of the leadership of Germany's Social Democratic Party, returned to Moscow 20 March.

**Finnish Air Force Commander Arrives in Moscow**  
*PM231625 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian*  
23 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Guest From Finland"]

[Text] In accordance with an accord reached, Major General P. Jokinen, commander of the Finnish Air Force, arrived in Moscow on an official visit 22 March. The guest from Finland and the persons accompanying him were met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, and by generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

On the same day Maj Gen P. Jokinen laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown warrior by the Kremlin wall.

In the afternoon Maj Gen P. Jokinen called on Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov.

**Briefs**

**Joint Venture With FRG**

Tbilisi March 23 TASS—The first joint business enterprise was set up in Georgia. Its partners are an amalgamation from Poti, a port city of this Soviet Transcaucasian Republic, and the West German firm Wilfried Post from Blieskastel, the Saarland. It will produce metal carcass furniture. It is planned to manufacture in the future medical instruments, yachts and sailing equipment. "Fazis" is the thirtieth joint venture registered in the USSR. It will turn out its first output early next year. [Text] *LD240725 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 23 Mar 88*

**Latin America & Caribbean**

**Reportage on Current Nicaraguan Peace Talks**

**Humberto Ortega Assessment**

*LD240211 Moscow TASS in English 0107 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] Sapoá (Nicaragua) March 23 TASS—Nicaraguan Defence Minister Humberto Ortega, who is heading the government delegation at the direct talks with contra leaders, has stated at a press conference here that coincidence of the sides' views on some important issues concerning a ceasefire was achieved at the talks. This, in his view, gives ground to hope for a positive outcome of the dialogue.

Humberto Ortega also said that the government delegation put forward proposals aimed at achieving durable and lasting peace in Central America within the framework of the Guatemala Agreements.

With this end in view it is necessary that the contras start living a peaceful life and cease armed actions. The government's opinion is that within thirty days of cessation of hostilities the contras will be able to avail themselves of a government-proclaimed amnesty. At the same time the observance of all civil rights and freedoms for persons availing themselves of the amnesty will be guaranteed. It is also suggested that a special commission be set up to verify a possible agreement between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras. Such commission could include representatives of the United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of American States, the Contadora Group, the Support Group, Spain, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Canada.

**Cease-Fire Agreement Reported**

*LD240615 Moscow TASS in English 0612 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] Managua March 24 TASS—Following three days of talks representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and the contras formations have reached an agreement on ceasefire for a term of 60 days beginning from April 1, an official spokesman for the Nicaraguan Government reported from Sapoá, in the south of Nicaragua, where the talks were held.

The sides also agreed to resume the negotiations from April 6 to work out an agreement on a final ceasefire.

**Further on Sapoá Talks**

*LD241340 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] Managua March 24 TASS—After three days of talks representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and the contras groups reach agreement on ceasefire for 60 days, starting from April 1. This has been reported in the village of Sapoá, in the south of Nicaragua, where talks were held by a Nicaraguan Government spokesman.

The sides agreed to resume talks on April 6 for the purpose of working out an agreement on "final ceasefire".

The document says that the counterrevolutionary groups pledge to occupy in two months the zones specially assigned for them and to accept only humanitarian aid from "neutral organizations".

In its turn, the Nicaraguan Government pledges to grant an amnesty to the contras kept in prisons and to allow all the political emigres to return home. It was pointed out that the first group of prisoners would be released next Sunday. Apart from it, the contras were invited to take part in a national dialogue held by the government with all the opposition parties of Nicaragua in accordance with the Guatemala accords.

**U.S. Nicaraguan Policy 'Dangerous Game'**  
*PM231507 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 5*

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint" article: "Fanning the Flames"]

[Text] Washington's actions have caused a crisis situation in two Central American regions at once—around Nicaragua and in Panama. This is taking place at a time when the peace-loving forces of the planet had succeeded in gaining a definite reduction in international tension. The efforts of Nicaragua and the countries of the Con-tadora Group and the Support Group aimed at a peaceful settlement in Central America had begun to bear their first fruit. Direct talks on a cease-fire between the Sandinista Government and the contras were fixed for 21-23 March on the territory of Nicaragua. A real opportunity for eliminating this dangerous seat of regional tension had begun to open up.

It was precisely at this moment that the White House gave the order to urgently transfer to Honduras troops mainly consisting of battalions of the 82d Airborne Division, which trampled Grenada's freedom. As can be seen from U.S. press reports, the White House was preparing this operation long before the publication of the official transfer decision. Time was not the only thing needed to prepare the troops for the operation. It was necessary to receive a "request" from the Honduran president. Evidently this was only "rubber-stamped" when the Pentagon landing force machine had begun to operate at full throttle. As L. Cannon and D. Oberdorfer write in THE WASHINGTON POST, "such a request was a mere formality."

At that time bitter battles had developed between the Sandinista People's Army and contra gangs in the north of Nicaragua. ABC television reported that "when the contras retreated to the territory of neighboring Honduras, the Sandinistas gave chase. The White House calls this an invasion. The Sandinistas deny this." Britain's DAILY MAIL pointed out in turn: "The invading troops disappeared as mysteriously as they appeared."

In short, few people believed the claims of an "invasion of Nicaragua." Therefore, Washington had to supplement its claims with its favorite "argument" about the "Sandinista threat" to the United States. But there are few gullible people here either. The LOS ANGELES TIMES noted: "There is no evidence to justify the claim that a real problem for U.S. national security has arisen. The White House's present actions are in complete accord with the strategy of President Reagan, who wants to upset the quest for diplomatic alternatives in Central America and foist a military solution to this region's problems."

Washington has given assurances that sending U.S. troops to Honduras is a "friendly action" and that they will only be there for a few days and a long way from the combat zone. The latest reports say that the landing forces are continuing to approach the Nicaraguan border.

Administration spokesmen repeat that the "contras are doomed" and that they are "in dead trouble." But if such statements illustrate anything it is only that the Somo-cista gangs have not obtained support within Nicaragua. It is already obvious to everyone that they can only remain on top as long as they are subsidized by Washington. Therefore the White House is now going flat out in its endeavor to force the Congress to allocate more millions of dollars to save their hirelings in their death throes.

Undoubtedly, the present actions are being carried out with a view to strengthening the domestic positions of the administration, which is once again sensing "subterranean tremors" in connection with a new outburst over the Irangate scandal.

The administration's actions are provoking growing alarm and indignation everywhere. America is seething. "We do not need a second Vietnam!" participants in massive demonstrations in the United States' largest cities state. The police have arrested hundreds of demonstrators, but their comrades take the place of those who have been arrested. A group of U.S. peace campaigners headed by B. Wilson, who lost both legs during an antiwar demonstration at a USAF base in California, have set out for Nicaragua. Protests against the escapade being orchestrated are growing in Latin America and other regions of the planet.

Millions of people cannot help but compare Washington's hypocritical policy with Managua's clear position. It was at the request of the Sandinista Government that the UN Security Council examined this conflict situation and it was at its request that a UN mission is being sent to the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

Washington is setting a dangerous game in motion. This enterprise clearly does not hold the promise of any laurels for Washington.

**U.S. 'Massive Seige' on Panama Assessed**  
*LD241130 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*  
*1030 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[From the 'International Diary' program presented by Aleksandr Malikov]

[Text] [Malikov] It is with the same tenaciousness, worthy, incidentally, of a quite different application, that the United States is trying to impede another people of Central America—the people of Panama—from taking hold of their own destiny.

According to news agency reports from Panama, the political crisis brought about by interference in the Republic's affairs by the United States is continuing. Panama's President Solis, in an address to the nation, stated that the commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, General Noriega, agrees to retire until the start of parliamentary elections on the condition that a political dialogue be conducted in the country with the aim of ensuring the sovereign resolution of national problems. A representative of the U.S. Administration, which has been tenaciously striving for Noriega's removal from the political arena, announced that the Panamanian general's conditions are completely unacceptable to Washington. I will ask my colleague, Vyacheslav Lavrentyev, to comment on events in Panama.

[Lavrentyev] For 10 months, the United States has been conducting a massive siege on the Panamanian strongman, as journalists describe Manuel Antonio Noriega. He isn't to the liking of Washington, insofar as he has pursued the vividly expressed nationalist course started by his predecessor, General Torrijos. This is particularly vexing for the U.S. Administration, since from the start of the century—when President Theodore Roosevelt exclaimed: I've taken Panama—several generations of Americans have grown accustomed to considering this Central American republic as their territory. And if Panama was known as a sovereign country, it was, without fail, to resolve its affairs only with the agreement of its northern benefactor and patron.

For this reason one can imagine the indignation of U.S. officials when General Noriega declared he would do everything possible to ensure that not a single U.S. soldier remains on Panamanian territory after the year 2000, as provided for by the Panamanian-U.S. canal treaty. The irritation of U.S. diplomacy when Panama began to spoil the effects of its covert intrigues against Nicaragua, and when, in the group of four, it acted as an initiator of a peaceful settlement of Central American problems, is also understandable. Herein, I suppose, lies the reply to the question of why Washington reared up against Noriega. All these accusations against the general—about his involvement in drug trafficking, laundering drug money, and passing secret information to Cuba—all this explosive mixture was specially prepared to discredit Noriega.

Here is one of the latest such allegations thrown to the press by Villalaz, a Panamanian Air Force major, who took part in a recent unsuccessful coup against Noriega. Having fled to the United States, this major disclosed at a press conference that three aircraft from Cuba had recently transferred armaments for Noriega to various areas of Panama, allegedly in the event that he should need to wage a partisan war. The question arises: Why would Noriega need this if he is now supported by the entire National Guard? The major is trying to make himself out to be a great fighter for democracy who has fallen victim to Noriega's dictatorial regime.

Meanwhile, new details about the participants in this military coup have become known. In particular it turns out that most of the plotters had recently returned from the United States, after having completed a kind of refresher course there. It seems that, apparently, they weren't trained very well there because the coup failed.

Yes, most probably Gen Noriega will have to abandon his key post as commander-in-chief of the National Defense Forces. The forces of the opposing sides are too unequal and the U.S. influence in Panama is too strong. All payments in the Republic are conducted in U.S. dollars and over 60 percent of exports go to the United States. U.S. diplomacy has more than enough methods for arm twisting. And, nevertheless, the present confrontation between Noriega and Washington has met with a wide response. On 25 March the first international meeting of solidarity with Panama will open in the Panamanian capital. Taking part in it will be the leaders of progressive parties and organizations from 27 Latin American countries. One must think that United States imperial ways will receive a due evaluation at this meeting.

#### Uruguayan President Completes Moscow Visit

##### Gives Press Conference

LD231645 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The first ever visit to the Soviet Union by a Uruguayan president no doubt is an event of much political importance, testifying to the maturity of the Uruguayan-Soviet dialogue and the possibility of maintaining in the future constructive bilateral relations, Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti said at a press conference here today.

"During the current visit I had an open and sincere political dialogue with Soviet leaders Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

"We exchanged views on a wide range of international problems and issues concerning bilateral relations," he said.

In this connection Sanguinetti spoke highly of prospects for the development to mutual benefit of Uruguayan-Soviet cooperation in various fields, and voiced the conviction that that would have a beneficial effect on bilateral relations in general.

The Uruguayan president said the business quarters in his country showed interest in developing commercial ties with Soviet partners. He added that there were plans for setting up a joint Soviet-Uruguayan enterprise in the Soviet Union.



Sanguinetti expressed the hope that General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev would visit Latin America, specifically Uruguay, which he said would strengthen Uruguayan-Soviet relations.

#### **Speaks of Trade Agreement**

*LD232229 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
1900 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] A press conference given by Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, took place in the press center of the Foreign Ministry today. Addressing those assembled, he said, in particular:

[Begin Sanguinetti recording in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] Above all, this visit is extraordinarily important in its own right. It is the first time that a president of Uruguay has visited the Soviet Union, one of the world's great countries. Without any doubt, it is a political event in its own right. It stresses the maturity of our dialogue, taking into account the fact that we are countries with different social and political systems. Nevertheless, we are able to maintain constructive relations. On this basis we conducted a broad political dialogue here—open and sincere [otkrytyy i iskrenniy]—during which we exchanged viewpoints with the leaders of the Soviet Union, principally in the conversations with Mr Gromyko and Mr Gorbachev.

As far as trade is concerned, as you already know, an agreement has been signed. This agreement places the norms of the old treaty of 1969 on a contemporary footing and the prospect of developing trade between our countries to the value of \$90 million in 1989 has been created. It is an important agreement. We are now reaching a new level, something which will, of course, have an effect on our relations.

We would like to express the hope that General Secretary Gorbachev will be able to visit Latin America and our country. We invite him to do this.

I would express gratitude for the attention which has been shown us and I would like now to thank the Moscow State University for the honorary doctorate awarded to me. I also thank the press for the interest which has been shown in our visit. [end recording]

#### **Discusses Panama Crisis**

*LD232241 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
2030 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Press conference by Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry on 23 March—recorded in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [EXCELSIOR correspondent] EXCELSIOR, Mexico. Mr President, you came here when the situation in Central America is critical, while in Panama things are worse. Did you discuss what is happening in Central America, including Panama?

[Sanguinetti] Central America has been in conflict for many years. Our efforts, as is known, are made within the Contadora Group, the support group. Our standpoint is added to the collective efforts. We are worried, naturally, as a member of the Group of Eight, by what is happening in Panama. We are sure that a spirit of calm will prevail and that Panama will be able to find a peaceful settlement to its problems. We say that Panamanians must solve their problems themselves and that pressure should not be exerted on them from outside.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the Uruguayan position on the presence of British troops in the Malvinas? What is your position?

[Sanguinetti] Our government bases itself on the following principles: First and foremost, we know and support the basic right of Argentina to sovereignty in the Malvinas. Second, we stress the need to seek a peaceful settlement to the dispute between Argentina and Great Britain. We are ready to support any efforts for a peaceful settlement to this situation. We shall retain our neutrality.

[Unidentified correspondent] You have visited the Soviet Union several times. Now you are here when the process of restructuring is underway. What is your opinion of it?

[Sanguinetti] The phenomenon of restructuring is one of the great episodes of our century. It is a matter of giving an impulse to the development of society. From this viewpoint we have a great interest in what is happening here and naturally during our talks this theme was very widely discussed with Soviet representatives. I am certain that it will give greater dynamism to Soviet society and will in turn have universal significance. We consider it a historic phenomenon and we also look upon this process optimistically.

#### **Awarded Honorary Degree**

*LD240033 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
1800 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] There was a ceremony to present President Sanguinetti with an honorary doctorate of the Moscow State University today. The title "Major Scientist and Lawyer, Doctor of Law," was awarded to him as one of the authors of the constitution, which is currently in force in Uruguay, and for his contribution to the development of science and the strengthening of peace and cooperation among the peoples.

#### **Kamentsev Meets Barrios**

*PM231638 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] On 22 March V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Uruguayan Foreign Minister Luis Barrios.

In the course of the talk, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, the state of Soviet-Uruguayan trade and economic cooperation and prospects for its development were examined. In this connection mention was made of the importance of the agreement signed during Uruguayan President J.M. Sanguinetti's official visit to the USSR on reciprocal deliveries of goods between the two countries in the period 1988-1990.

**AUCCTU Secretary Leaves for Havana Visit**  
*PM231529 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Mar 88 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Departure for Havana"]

[Text] V.P. Provorotov, secretary of the AUCCTU, left for Havana 20 March at the invitation of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions to take part in a conference of secretaries responsible for organizational questions from trade union centers in the socialist countries.

**Kryuchkov Party Delegation Returns From Cuba**  
*PM231059 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Delegations Return"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by G.K. Kryuchkov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, has returned to Moscow from Havana. The delegation had familiarized itself with the activity of Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] party organs and organizations in carrying out the decisions of the third party congress.

The delegation was received by J.R. Machado Ventura, member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat.

**Cuban Official Discusses Technical Cooperation**

**Meets Communications Minister**  
*FL181745 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish  
1200 GMT 18 Mar 88*

[Text] A Cuban delegation headed by Pedro Miret, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers, met with Erlen Kirikovich Pervyshin, minister of the communications equipment industry, in Moscow yesterday. Miret and his delegation also met with officials from the electronics industry and the ministries responsible for instrument making, automatic equipment, and control

systems. Developments in cooperation were examined in these fields. Also present at the talks was Cuban Ambassador Julio Camacho Aguilera.

**Talks With Tolstykh**

*FL191535 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish  
1200 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[Text] Pedro Miret, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers, met yesterday in Moscow with Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology. The two discussed the progressive promotion and expansion of scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries.

**Greetings Sent to Guyana's Cheddi Jagan**  
*PM231205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 1*

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana]

[Text] To Comrade Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana [PPP]

Dear Comrade Cheddi Jagan!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets and congratulates you, an eminent figure in the national liberation and international communist and workers movements, in connection with your 70th birthday.

Your tireless and selfless activity in the interests of Guyana's working people and your contribution to the struggle against imperialism and national oppression and to the development of fraternal ties between the CPSU and the PPP are well-known in our country and have won you the respect of Soviet communists.

We wish you, dear Comrade Cheddi Jagan, good health, and we hope that you will continue to participate actively in the strengthening of friendship between the Soviet and Guyanese peoples and in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

CPSU Central Committee

## Political & Social

### USSR Supreme Soviet Denies Karabakh Request

#### Resolution Published

PM241203 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[Text] The Resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Measures Connected with Addresses of Union Republics Concerning the Events in Nagorno-Karabakh, in the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics [subhead] Having examined the addresses of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the Russian Federation, and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tadjik, Turkmenian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics in connection with the situation that developed in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics and guiding itself by Article 81 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet decreed:

1. To note that the situation that developed in the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh is detrimental to the peoples of these republics and on the whole to the further strengthening of friendship of the USSR's peoples as an integral, federal, multinational state.

To recognise as intolerable the attempt to resolve complicated national-territorial issues through pressure on state authorities, in the atmosphere when emotions and passions are whipped up, when all kinds of self-styled formations are being set up that declare for the recarving of national-state and national-administrative borders enshrined in the USSR Constitution, which can lead to unpredictable consequences.

To condemn resolutely criminal actions taken by individuals and groups which resulted in the loss of life. To take into consideration the fact that the persons guilty of this are being brought to administrative and criminal account.

2. The soviets of people's deputies of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, guiding themselves by the decisions of the 27th congress of the party, the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, the address of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, should drastically improve the mass political and educational work among the population in the spirit of the unshakeability of the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, of the friendship and cohesion of the fraternal peoples of the USSR. The causes of the aggravation of interethnic relations should be analyzed thoroughly and profoundly, and should be timely removed. It is necessary to declare vigorously

against any nationalistic and extremist manifestations. A calm businesslike atmosphere should be created in production collectives and in educational establishments. The efforts of the working people of all nations and ethnic groups inhabiting the republics should be enlisted to resolve the tasks of the revolutionary transformations taking place in our society.

3. The presidiums of the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics should take the necessary agreed upon measures to consolidate socialist legality and public order, to ensure the protection of lawful interests of the citizens of all nationalities, to bring to strict account those who by their actions destabilize the situation, encroach on friendship and cooperation of fraternal Soviet peoples.

4. The USSR Council of Ministers should work out measures aimed at the solution of ripe problems of the economic, social and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

5. The Office of Public Prosecutor of the USSR and the USSR Ministry of the Interior should take every necessary measure to ensure public order and protect lawful interests of the population in the territory of the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

#### Supreme Soviet Delegates Interviewed

LD240029 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1800 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Interview with G.S. Tazarevich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.F. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and P.G. Gilashvili, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by unidentified Moscow television correspondent following the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session on 23 March—recorded]

[Text] [Tazarevich] Well, first and foremost, I would like to say that an unusual session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium was held today—first and foremost because it was a response to the appeals and requests of the republican Supreme Soviet presidiums regarding the adoption of measures for normalizing the situation that has developed around Nagorno-Karabakh in recent days.

Second is the fact that the Presidium session unanimously expressed great anxiety and worry over these events. The facts of violence and vandalism, among the consequences of which there even occurred losses of human life, have been condemned.

Last, there was a unanimous view on all the problems discussed in connection with this issue. Restructuring and the processes which are under way nowadays in connection with it, democratization, and glasnost provide grounds for us to tackle these problems in an altogether different way, first and foremost on democratic principles, on principles of free discussion of problems, on principles of discussing various alternative opinions, on principles of conviction, and not on principles of violence.

[Ryuytel] There are no nationalities problems, as such, in our country because our Soviet people have, indeed, passed through such tests—such as, let us say, during the Patriotic war, which united all peoples of the Soviet Union and it would appear that there were no problems. However, they indeed still do exist. This was manifested by the latest events in various regions of our country. It clearly is necessary to focus more attention on these problems and try and sort these problems out, to find their sources and causes, and why precisely such problems are appearing.

[Gilashvili] There are many reasons. Maybe in the first place it is, of course, the slackening of the attention to questions of relations among nationalities. There is yet another thing, in my view, the rather great hope of our people that the principles of socialism will act automatically and remove all obstacles, including those concerning nationalities questions. The violation of equilibrium in solving social issues and also in the cadres policy can, of course, be considered to be the causes. Of course, it is quite important, it seems to me, that there is an absence in many of us of sufficient and necessary culture in relations among nationalities.

[Tazarevich] Democratization is not anarchy; it is, first and foremost, discipline; it is observance of the law because these events that have occurred happened in many ways—especially the violence, and so on—because those militia bodies that should have been ensuring that the law and the protection of the rights and interests of the people were observed, did not do so in time. In other words, the authorities did not act as they should have done, the law did not operate; and it is the authorities that have the law in their hands. It was precisely this which was voiced at the Presidium. At the sessions in the regions and at our session of the Presidium, no one said...

[Gilashvili, interrupting] ...anything bad or uttered any reproaches against...

[Tazarevich, interrupting] ... the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. No such thing was said. Everyone was simply concerned.

#### Experts Discuss Situation

LD232051 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The situation around Nagorno-Karabakh can be settled through fully meeting economic, social and cultural requirements of all ethnic

groups in that region, leading Soviet experts on ethnic relations said at a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists at the Press Centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry today.

"I'm an Armenian and the destinies of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh are not indifferent to me," Professor Sergey Ariaav [name as received] said.

"But it is the perestroika (restructuring) drive, rather than the redrawing of boundaries between constituent republics, that is going on in the Soviet Union today.

"The goal of perestroika in the field of ethnic relations is to ensure a comfortable and secure life for Armenians and Azerbaijanis living in that region and a possibility for them to learn and teach their children in their native languages," he said.

In Arutyunov's [name as received] opinion, ethnic differences among the region's population are not connected with the different religions. He said that representatives of both churches, Muslim and Christian, called for peace, friendship, mutual understanding and an end to the bloodshed and to the kindling of contradictions between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Academician Yulian Bromley said that there are more than 120 peoples and nationalities in the Soviet Union, whose equality has been sealed by the Constitution.

Over the years of Soviet Government their economic, cultural and social development has been levelled out, which was achieved through joint efforts by fraternal peoples.

On the recent unrest in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait which has a population of 200,000, Bromley said that several hundred people had taken part in the disturbances.

"I think that could have been provoked by a group that strived to lend an ethnic nature to the protests. Whether this is so will be clear after the investigation now under way," the scientist said.

"Today, in the period of perestroika and the growing democratisation of Soviet society, we're far from thinking that the nationalities question has been absolutely resolved in the USSR," Bromley said.

"One should look into the reasons of manifestations of nationalism in a calm and well-balanced way. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold a plenary meeting in the foreseeable future to discuss the nationalities policy in the country and problems of ethnic relations. The plenary meeting will give answers to many questions," the academician said.



### **Demirchyan Issues Statement**

NC240625 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian  
0520 GMT 24 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The front and fifth pages of the paper carry the statement by Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, made on the Armenian television on 22 March. The statement says in particular: Each one of us knows that no one has ever managed to take correct decisions in an atmosphere of nervous tension, inflamed passions, and [word indistinct].

The [word indistinct] which certain unreasonable and foolish [voch-voghchamid, anoba] men are proposing to hold on 28 March will undoubtedly end in a new inflammation of emotions and passions and be pregnant with unforeseeable and possibly even tragic consequences.

Appealing to all the working people of the city and the countryside, to our workers and peasants, to everybody, (?I advise) them to stay ever on the lofty level of their historic mission, to show a profound consciousness of the situation, to allow nobody to upset the normal rhythm of life and work, and to act as tireless fighters for internationalism and for the ideas of the friendship and fraternity of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

### **Armenian Presidium Decree**

NC240632 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian  
0525 GMT 24 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The paper publishes a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR on provisional rules for the holding of meetings and other mass measures constituted [kazmavorvogh] at the initiative of citizens in the cities and rayons of the republic.

The paper has also published the provisional rules for the holding of meetings and other mass measures organized [kazmakerpvogh] at the initiative of citizens in the cities and rayons of the republic.

### **Ethnographer on Nationalities**

LD241317 Moscow World Service in English  
1110 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] A group of Soviet ethnographers have held a news conference here in Moscow. They discussed crucial problems of the nationalities' relations in the USSR. In attendance were the director of the Ethnography Institute of the National Academy of Sciences, Dr Yulian Bromley, his colleagues from the institute and historians. They were unanimous in the opinion that under perestroika the main aim of the nationalities policy must be

to guarantee all citizens respect for their national dignity and high living standards. Dr Bromley described the current ethnic situation in the Soviet Union:

[Begin Bromley recording in Russian fading into English translation] The Soviet Union is a multinational country. It has population of 120 ethnic groups. Moreover, each of its 15 republics in itself is an ethnic melting pot: 55 million people, an equivalent of the population of France, live in the Soviet Union beyond the bounds of their native areas. In some republics the indigenous population accounts for only 50 percent of the entire population and in some cases even less, like in Kazakhstan.

It has been considered for a long time that the nationalities question in the Soviet Union has been solved once and for all. True, under Soviet Government the economies and cultures of Soviet republics have made rapid progress. Those that lagged behind have caught up with more advanced areas. However, to say that the nationalities question has been settled would be a major mistake. There still are language and other differences between various ethnic groups. Ethnic minorities have been reacting rather painfully to social injustice, especially in the years of stagnation. For instance, in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is part of Azerbaijan, housing construction has lagged behind as compared to other areas of that republic. At Armenian schools a course in the history of the Armenian people was canceled arbitrarily. These negative phenomena have been piling up for years, and democratization has now highlighted them. At this stage, the nationalities policy must eliminate this and other cases of injustice and solve crucial economic and ethnic problems. [end recording]

Answering a question from foreign newsmen on the interethnic relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Professor Sergey (?Arutinan), himself an Armenian, said that he was convinced in the steadfastness of their friendship. In Azerbaijan, which has a 9 million population, a mere 100 criminals, he said, used the interethnic tension to carry out criminal actions against Armenians and people of other nationalities.

### **Politburo Blamed for Sumgait**

LD241428 Hamburg DPA in German 1303 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—According to civil rights circles, the Soviet leadership has sent troops to Yerevan because of expected unrest in the Soviet Republic of Armenia. On Wednesday troops were flown in on over 100 aircraft, Paruir Airikyan, the leader of the Armenian independence movement, said on the same day in a telephone call to Moscow. According to the report, armed troops are patrolling the streets of Yerevan. As soon as a sizeable crowd of people has gathered, Airikyan

said, helicopters hover low over the demonstrators. The police have also been reinforced by militia from other republics. There is no official confirmation of these reports.

A resolution of the Yerevan Central Committee plenum calls on the party organs to prevent demonstrations and to "neutralize" the unofficial organization committee, Airikyan said. [passage omitted]

According to Airikyan, the unofficial Yerevan organization committee is considering not recommending demonstrations this coming Saturday in order to avoid further bloodshed. Instead the declaration of Yerevan as a "dead city" for 3 days is being discussed. The population would not leave their apartments and houses in that period. However, a final decision had not yet been taken, Airikyan said.

In a statement the independence movement led by Airikyan accuses the CPSU Politburo of being directly responsible for the massacre in the Azerbaijan town of Sumgait in which 32 people died, according to official reports. A further resolution states that the party newspaper PRAVDA, as a result of its article on Monday, has fuelled the persecution of Armenians and possible further massacres. PRAVDA accused the Armenian demonstrators of "demagogy" and "national egoism". According to Airikyan, the resolution calls on the United Nations and the parliaments of all countries to support Armenia and to prevent "new crimes by the Soviet government".

Airikyan's independence movement, which has around 500 members, is more radical than the unofficial Yerevan Organization Committee, some of whose members have recently called for greater restraint. While Airikyan is seeking Armenian independence, the organization committee is only seeking the annexation to Armenia of the Nagorno-Karabakh area in Azerbaijan. The committee says it has underground organizations throughout the republic.

Western correspondents are still not allowed to travel to the two Caucasian republics. As the Soviet media are only reporting the current situation sparingly, it is extremely difficult to get a precise picture of the situation in Armenia.

#### **Troops, Police Deployed in Yerevan**

AU241357 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (AFP)—Soldiers have been deployed in the Armenian capital Yerevan and militiamen brought in from other Soviet republics in advance of a mass stay-at-home called by Armenian nationalists for Saturday, witnesses reached by telephone said Thursday.

Nationalist spokesman Ambartssum Galstyan earlier told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone from Yerevan that the nationalists planned what they dubbed a "dead city" operation to protest Moscow's rejection Wednesday of their demands for the return to Armenia of the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

In addition to a strengthened local police presence, witnesses said, militiamen from outside Armenia were patrolling alongside every Armenian policeman, and a large number of soldiers had been deployed.

Many helicopters had been hovering over the Armenian capital on Wednesday, said Paruir Airikyan, a nationalist arrested in Moscow earlier in the week and deported back to Yerevan. Helicopters flying at low-altitude had dispersed thousands of Armenian demonstrators in the capital Tuesday, he said, adding that he believed those spotted Wednesday were aimed at discouraging further demonstrations.

In an early morning meeting in Yerevan, members of the Karabakh Committee voted to appeal to the city's one million residents not to hold any demonstrations on Saturday, but to remain home, making Yerevan a "dead city," reported Mr. Galstyan, a Committee member.

The decision came a day after the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—equivalent to a federal parliament and representing all 15 Soviet republics—rejected as "intolerable" demands that Nagorno-Karabakh be reincorporated into Armenia. It was made part of Azerbaijan under Stalin's rule. Mr. Galstyan described the presidium's stand as meaning that "the constitutional right to self-determination is not guaranteed" in the Soviet Union. But because police were out in force in the Armenian capital, residents had been asked to show "discipline" and stay at home, he added.

Although the nationalists had decided to "give in, in the face of brutal force," the drive to reclaim Nagorno-Karabakh "would continue as long as the legitimate demands of the population" were not met, he said. Armenian activists Sylva Kaputikyan and Zory Balayan went on local television Wednesday night and appealed for nationalist demonstrations to stop, Mr. Airikyan said.

The Armenian newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN published the same day a call by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee urging security forces and party organs to "prevent" Saturday's planned nationalist action, he added. They were also urged to "neutralize" the Karabakh Committee, he said.

Dissident sources here said Wednesday that thousands of nationalists had demonstrated Monday and Tuesday in Yerevan.

Nationalists of the Karabakh Committee decided to suspend protests late last month following 10 days of mass demonstrations in the Armenian capital and an appeal for calm from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. However, at the time they called on the Yerevan population to hold a fresh demonstration March 26 if the Soviet leadership failed to satisfy nationalist demands before then.

Observers said Saturday's non-protest appears to signal that the nationalists are trying to steer clear of confrontation with Moscow which has vowed to repress any unrest.

The Armenian demonstrations come amid growing ethnic claims in the Soviet Union at a time when Mr. Gorbachev has spearheaded a campaign for glasnost—or openness.

### Comparison of Supreme Soviet Session

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 March 1988 in its Second Edition on page 5 carries a TASS report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Session held on the Nagorno-Karabakh unrest. The report, under the headline "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session", has been compared to the Moscow Domestic version published in the 23 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 57, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph one, sentence one, PRAVDA reads ...in the Kremlin 23 March under the chairmanship... (substituting "23 March" for "today")

Paragraph two, only sentence, PRAVDA omits "Gorbachev";

Same paragraph, PRAVDA reads ...Lithuanian SSR, Austraškas.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

The Presidium of... (adding paragraph)

### Reporters Meet With Karabakh Activists

PM240125 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 6

[S. Dardynkin and R. Lynev report: "Meetings After the Rallies. Report From Our Correspondents in Nagorno-Karabakh"—boldface as published]

[Text] It so happened that we, a group of journalists from central newspapers, arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh when the main events in this small autonomous oblast and its center, Stepanakert, seemed to be over. When we set off on this assignment we had no plan prepared in advance, no preconceived assessments or prescriptions, we set ourselves just one task: to be objective and to exclude

any one-sidedness or prejudice. No, that's not so, there was one condition that we agreed on in advance—caution! For a harsh though objective assessment from an outsider may offend and evoke an unpredictable reaction.

The first thing we heard from almost everyone we talked to was reproaches to the press: Why is coverage of events here so meager? Meager or one-sided.

"What is there to prevent you from speaking the truth?" people demanded of us.

In theory, nothing. The truth, in a nutshell, is that big rallies were held day and night here in the oblast center, during 2 weeks in February. The main slogan was to transfer the NKAO (the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast) from the Azerbaijan SSR to the neighboring Armenian SSR. A great many reasons were cited: socioeconomic, ethnic, cultural and historical....

Rallies similar to those here in the NKAO but even bigger were also held in Yerevan. Special committees were set up both there and here. The committee in Yerevan is called "Karabakh," and the one in Stepanakert is called "Krunk," which means "crane"—the symbol of homesickness.

Both there and here slogans in support of restructuring, glasnost, democratization, and the peoples' friendship were put forward alongside the main slogan—about the status of the NKAO.

But in fact both restructuring and the friendship between the two neighboring peoples—the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples—were subjected to serious trials during these days.

Begin with the fact that in Azerbaijan the reaction to the very raising of the question of the transfer of the NKAO to the republic's neighbors was different from that in Armenia: So are we not a sovereign republic? And when, falling for provocative rumors, groups of Azerbaijanis left Karabakh and a number of rayons of Armenia and went to Azerbaijan to "seek salvation," the rumor of some kind of "Armenian threat" arose. Events developed in Sumgait in such a way that troops had to be moved in. Order has been restored there and, as the USSR Prosecutor's Office recently reported, the culprits are being identified. These tragic events have yet to be described.

There were dozens of dead, many wounded and arrested, and Armenian refugees, from Sumgait now, who had abandoned their homes, studies, and jobs. Let us add to that the general shock felt by the population of both republics; let us add that a number of enterprises are still quite unable to regain a normal rhythm of work. Such is the truth.

The difficulty for us writers lies not in telling the truth, but in the fact that not everyone finds it to their liking. And that the selfsame facts are evaluated differently in Yerevan and Baku; a different view of them is taken in Stepanakert and in the neighboring rayons of Azerbaijan.

One of our first meetings in Stepanakert was with a large group of party and soviet personnel, journalists, and lecturers from a teacher training institute. What they told us—fervently and with conviction—about the problems that had accumulated in Nagorno-Karabakh could be put in a few words: "Things were painful."

When, on the way here, we asked responsible comrades in Baku, at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, what they thought had prompted the question of changing the autonomous oblast's status, they explained to us that the issue did not exist in principle. Or if it did, they said, it has been created by the intrigues of subversive centers from abroad that are trying to play the Armenian national card.

We are not going to argue—for some people abroad the events surrounding Karabakh are a real gift making it possible to obtain easy propaganda pickings for a while. But let us be frank: Is it as a result of someone's intrigues that schools here in the NKAO have two Armenian language textbooks for the entire class? No, it is the result of the "farsightedness" of certain republican organs. They have excluded the history of the Armenian people from the timetable of schools here and dragged out as long as possible the question—already decided in principle—of constructing a television relay station so that Yerevan programs can be watched in Nagorno-Karabakh. And whose idea was it to design documents so that the deputies' credentials and passports of local Armenians contain not a single inscription in Armenian? Or was this done in the struggle against manifestations of nationalism?

Why, we were asked later, does every visit by a touring group from Armenia, which, let us note, is just a few kilometers from here, always have to be cleared with Baku? And why is it impossible even to hire a nurse for a polyclinic here in the autonomous oblast without approval from Baku?

The list of distortions in the economy and in social and other spheres which they cited to us seemed endless.

It has to be noted that the problems that were mentioned have a great deal in common with those of anywhere in the boondocks—not just a national district. On the one hand, we see in this the center's chronic habit of taking a free ride at the expense of the provinces and taking more from them than it provides for development; and on the other, the rights of local, oblast organs are extremely limited. Such relations are in themselves very outmoded—the local soviets should be given more rights, more real power. When nationality comes into it, as in

our specific case, limited rights are not merely a hindrance to development but grounds for grievances. We see this as the main real aspect of the problem here.

Of course, it is a pity that the leadership of the oblast and the republic allowed all this to happen. What is worse, even today they try to make out to us that the NKAO has a better life than other regions in Azerbaijan and that, as has been said, there is no problem here.

The processes neglected by the leadership of the republic and the oblast gradually found their interpreters, and also orchestrators—outside party and soviet organs. Although alongside them. In plain view of them. Visitors from Yerevan haunted Nagorno-Karabakh. Letters were drafted, signatures were collected, and delegations were sent to Moscow to secure support there for the idea of uniting the NKAO with Armenia. Rumors were circulated that Moscow was nearly "in favor" of it, all that was necessary was to voice the demand more resolutely.

From around 10 February, the process that had long been gathering strength found an outlet—on the square in front of the party obkom. The number of people going there increased. First they came in small groups, then in entire shops, departments, and classes. The speakers and slogans succeeded one another, but the main slogan was still the same: "Karabakh."

Nevertheless, there are questions that were not discussed there in the square. And we realized that our interlocutors did not greatly like these questions. For instance, this one: What would be the specific advantages if the NKAO was nevertheless transferred to Armenia? Who has calculated them, and how? Has consideration been given to what this would mean for neighbors, for their interests, and for the country in general?

The answer we heard was: How can everything be reduced to mere calculations when it is a matter of a sacred cause!

We are aware of how easy it is to offend our interlocutors over this matter. Nevertheless, surely the new situation in society makes it possible to solve the problems of the NKAO, including that of restoring links with Armenia, without making a radical demand to your neighbors: "Move!"

"We are in favor of friendship with them," they assured us.

It's true that slogans about friendship were constantly proclaimed there in the square. But here is a question: Was there even one Azerbaijani at those rallies? Did any Azerbaijani speak? After all, Azerbaijanis constitute one-fourth of the population in the NKAO. They make up a similar proportion of the oblast soviet. Or does the issue



so widely aired at the rallies not concern them? Or do they not care whether they, along with their homes, land, and livestock, are transferred to the neighboring republic or left as they are?

When we asked our interlocutors about this, we heard a strange thing:

"What's all that got to do with it?"

And anyhow, why were we asking such questions? Surely it's because we had traveled via Baku, where of course—everything showed it—they had managed to dispose us "in favor of the Azerbaijani side!"

To be honest, these demands by our interlocutors that we listen to them alone and believe them alone depressed us and tallied poorly both with their assurances of friendship with their neighbors and with our understanding of the norms of democracy and justice.

They contended that it is enough merely to explain to Azerbaijanis that they will be no worse off as a result of the transfer of the NKAO to Armenia. Those were the exact words: **not ask them, but explain to them.** But how would the Azerbaijanis accept this explanation? Wouldn't they put forward in response a weighty explanation of their own? And what then?

Another detail was missing from the accounts of the participants in February's events. An important detail—how the session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet demanded by people in the square passed off. That is, they told us how absurd were the attempts from on high to prevent the session; how the chairman of the oblistpolkom "lost" his seal, so the results of the vote remained "uncertified," so certain people can now take advantage of this fact to declare them illegal. All that is true. But, we repeat, there was a detail missing from the accounts: Angered by the very fact that the question had been raised, the Azerbaijani deputies did not even vote.

"So what?" our interlocutors fumed. "The majority still voted 'in favor!'"

You cannot answer all questions by arithmetic. There is still an organ which, according to the USSR Constitution, must examine the question—the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet. You cannot get away from it; its prerogatives, like those of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of all our republics, are defined by the Soviet Union's fundamental law. The law and democracy must be respected in its shape. But in response we heard something very strange indeed from our Armenian comrades:

"Then we will hand in our party cards!" A. Lachichan, a retired lieutenant colonel and member of "Krunk," declared.

A natural question: What will become of those who wish to keep their party cards? But natural questions prompted an unnatural reaction.

"There will be no such people!"

There's democracy for you—everything is known in advance!

"Guerrilla warfare will begin!" G. Grigoryan, senior lecturer at the Stepanakert Teacher Training Institute, another "Krunk" activist, predicted.

Against whom?

"If there's no Karabakh, we don't want any restructuring," he was echoed from Yerevan by S. Khazadryan. A writer. A hero of labor.

Yet after all this they protest at the word "extremism" used in the mass media about them, demand that the press be boycotted as a sign of protest, and declare TASS and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting to be "criminal organizations," as "Karabakh" leader I. Muradyan did, calling for new strikes. But what is that if not extremism?

There is something else that must be said. Officially the "Krunk" society does not set political goals. It has proclaimed research and educational tasks, so to speak: studying the history of the region and its links with Armenia, restoring ancient monuments. But in fact its leaders, operating in the name of the people, try to dictate their will to party, soviet, and economic organs in the oblast, clearly in the belief that they were given a "mandate" for any actions there in the square. Some of them get so carried away that the very word "Karabakh" is disappearing from their speeches, giving way to demands that some leaders be "demoted" and others be promoted in their place.

There is something else that is worrying. Because of the rallies, the city did not work for 2 weeks. The slump in the enterprises' work has caused a long chain of disruptions for partners throughout the country.

What does all this have in common with restructuring and its goals? To whose benefit is it to ensure that the well known and in many respects common problems of two neighboring Transcaucasus republics simultaneously vanish, as it were, and are boiled down to a single problem—a territorial problem? Disputed. Deadlocked. Who benefits from this?

We have described only a few of the tight "knots" in this region. Today they are common knowledge. And we all realize, in our view: It will take time and common efforts to untie them. It will take patience and tolerance. Wisdom and thorough consideration of every step, every word. People of different ages, professions, and nationalities—in Yerevan, Sumgait, and Stepanakert—told us

this, for all their different biases, views, and assessments. Today the whole country has its eyes on here, it is waiting and hoping that emotions will abate and common sense reflecting the whole experience of our multinational people will prevail. We are confident that this will be so.

The reader is entitled to ask: What specifically is it proposed to do to solve the accumulated problems? There will be a piece about this in one of the next few issues of the paper.

### Armenian Reader's Letter Urges Friendship

PM231632 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 2

["Letter to PRAVDA" from E. Bagdasarov, deputy prorector for teaching and educational work at the Checheno-Ingush L. Tolstoy State University, in Groznyy: "On Our Fraternity"]

[Text] Dear editorial office! I am an educationalist from Checheno-Ingushetia. I am an Armenian, my relatives live in Georgia and Armenia, and my family and I in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. My wife, a mother of two children, is Russian. And we all visit Moscow with pleasure and great joy.

Once again a mission connected with creative work brings me to our capital. Here I have contacts with colleagues and add to my knowledge, here I think about the past and make plans for the future. My academic interests are connected with the patriotic and international education of young people.

It was with the greatest grief that I learned about the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. Although Armenia has never been my permanent home, I always pay great attention to any news about my people. I take sincere pleasure in Armenia's successes and achievements—I tell my children: "Hear how things are at home in Armenia!" Today I cannot tell them anything, although I have felt their inquiring glances on me. It was hard for me to grasp what caused these events, what dragged my people into them.

Yes, I said "my people," but I immediately thought: Of course, these are individuals infected with the virus of nationalism. I recall with a great sense of gratitude those who taught me the Russian, Georgian, Chechen, and Ingush languages, English, German, and French—that is the virtue of people who know how to share their people's cultural heritage. My wife and children often ask me to teach them to converse in Armenian. It was my wife who gave my younger daughter her name, Anait. My wife sits the children down beside her and shows them the glories of Armenian culture, reads them Armenian folk tales, prepares Armenian national dishes—and that is a virtue, too. It is important to be a champion of true national values, whatever national culture you belong to.

More than 20,000 Armenians live in my city, Groznyy. Some of them do not know the Armenian language (especially young people) and cannot perform their songs and dances. But I think they should. For my children's sake, I learned Armenian. At the age of 34 I started speaking it. People living in our city have also risen above circumstances: They set up an amateur club—they found enthusiasts to teach people to read and write, dance and sing. Among the club members are representatives of various nations and ethnic groups in our country: There are Russians and Chechens, Armenians and Ingush, Jews and Dagestanis.

I am holding a photograph. It depicts a serviceman taking the oath by the regiment's combat Red Banner. It is a photograph of someone close to me—he is my nephew, and a former graduate of a school where I used to work. A little further off in the picture are four people I know very well—his mother (my sister), uncle (my younger brother), sister (my niece), and a neighbor, Timur, in military uniform. It is a good tradition in the Army—to invite close relatives on the day of taking the oath!

But Aliyev Timur is no relative, he is a Chechen youth, but he is probably more than a relative. He is the soldier's friend.

We often hear Armenians naming with pride their best sons, their outstanding scientists and heroes, mentioning the biggest football stadium, the "Razdan" stadium, the biggest single-span bridge, the best drinking water, the beautiful, fashionable footwear made by the "Masis" firm. We hear them recalling with pride the names of Armenians abroad, their high status in a society alien to us, in another country. And how rarely some of them take an interest in the problem of all the Armenians living in the remotest corners of our motherland—the Soviet Union.

I often think about those who will help my children and nieces and nephews to enrich their national culture, gain access to it, and merge firmly with the multinational values of the entire Soviet people. I think about them, but the names and faces of the people who educated me, who taught me the national and the international, come into my head. There is my first teacher Natalya Alekseyevna—a Russian; my mother Anait Yervandovna and my father Ruben Khurshudovich; my childhood friends Valeriy Gazaryan—an Armenian, and Feliks Kutsel—a Pole; my school colleagues Fariza Magomadova and Zarema Omarova—Chechens; my academic mentor and friend Viktor Kan-Kalik—a Jew. I think about them, and I come back to this thought: "Can my Russian wife cultivate in our children the ability to augment Armenian national virtues and at the same time profoundly respect and value people of other nationalities and their culture and traditions?"

I very much believe she will succeed. I believe it, because I know my people will help her. A people who knew how to protect cultural assets and augment them over the centuries, to be in the front ranks of the country's science and technology, a revolutionary people, a people of ardent fighters for the humanist ideas of Soviet society, will certainly find in themselves the strength correctly to interpret the present day and to make their moral international choice.

Quite recently Ivan Mintyak, a student at the language faculty, came to me and said a few sentences in Armenian, speaking with obvious pride and looking me in the eyes. It seems that 6 months ago an Armenian girl became his fiancée, and Vanya made his moral choice.

I remember something else too—how, by a happy chance, I found myself in the little mountain village of Tetratskaro in Georgia, where mainly Greeks live. I was touched to the depth of my soul when I heard that they speak five languages fluently—Russian, Greek, Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani. The national dishes of these peoples are on their tables, multilingual songs are heard, and any guest feels at home. And when, the next day, I witnessed a Greek folk festival, I realized: No, the people have not lost their national identity, on the contrary, they have gained it, by managing to structure international intercourse correctly.

Chance led me to make the acquaintance of a young psychologist from Baku—Leyla Aliyeva, her mother, a doctor of philological sciences, and her brother, an oilman. This very interesting, intelligent family impressed me with the life-asserting thrust of their international convictions. I remember how enthusiastically they spoke of my wife, who had succeeded in creating our "crystal glass union." Crystal, because the hand-made filigree facets of international family relationships gladden the eyes of those around them and astound us with their elegance and beauty, when they represent a living creation in good hands. Crystal, because one clumsy touch—a manifestation of national egotism, the arrogant comparison of national virtues, an evil glance or gesture—can shatter this union into fragments in a moment.

Vanya Manucharyan had not met since the war years with the men from his regiment, the fighters of the former 242d Red Banner Taman Order of Kutuzov 2d Class Mountain Rifle Division—in those days he was a scout, now he is director of a major plant in Yerevan. But then in the city of Grozny, thanks to the pathfinders of No 15 boarding school, fate reunited two friends from the front—the Ukrainian Yakov Maryanenko and the Armenian Vanya Manucharyan. They embraced tightly, and their wives Marfa and Seda smiled tenderly through moist eyes—their husbands had saved each other from certain death several times.

It is more than 40 years since those terrible days of the war, and now once again examples of true soldierly fraternity, born in the mountain ravines and sun-scorched paths of Afghanistan, draw our attention to the living and call for eternal remembrance of international servicemen who have departed into immortality. The brotherhood of Zhenya Kolomakin and Artush Turvandyan is shot through with dushman bullets. It contains the conscience and honor of the national and the tremendous strength of the international. Zhenya Kolomakin, who departed into immortality at less than 20 years of age, was confident, never doubted, that Artush Turvandyan would carry their brotherhood safely through the years.

What is this? A paradox, or a psychologically explicable phenomenon? It seems that in extreme situations a person dealing and cooperating with others attaches least importance of all to his national feelings and operates by international laws. Here are some examples. At the most crucial moment, when the fate of the Great October Socialist Revolution was being decided, the best sons of many peoples rallied together—ardent revolutionaries—and turned age-old dreams into reality.

The memory of the fallen is also shared among them by conscience, as soldiers and brothers. There is in our republic a city called Malgobek, which devoutly preserves the memory of the divisions killed there—Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian. The devastating earthquake in Tashkent, the all-union construction project of the century—the Baykal-Amur Railroad, the terrible disaster at Chernobyl brought together true internationalists at the first call, and each people worthily made its own moral choice. According to the laws of our fraternity.

I would very much like to believe that today, when a test of the revolutionary conscience and honor of the people is under way all over our country, when progressive and leading ideas that were undeservedly forgotten are being revived, when every muscle and nerve is being tensed by everyone who could consider himself a patriot of his socialist Fatherland, we will be able to find in ourselves the strength correctly to interpret the Leninist nationalities policy and to put it into practice accurately everywhere. I believe that even where nationalist contagion has suddenly overcome some people for the time being, people will come to their senses. They must come to their senses!

E. Bagdasarov,

Deputy prorector for teaching and educational work,

Chechen-Ingush L. Tolstoy State University,

Grozny.

## Sugar Shortages in Kiev; Rationing Considered

### 'Tea Without Sugar'

AU231650 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
15 March 88 p 1

[Ya. Oleynichenko report: "Tea Without Sugar, or Why Is Sugar in Kiev...in Short Supply"]

[Text] Recently, the telephones have been ringing non-stop. The only question the inhabitants of Kiev had was: What is the matter with the sugar?

Having no idea what to reply to the endless calls to the editorial board, I visited a dozen or so stores. What I saw on many counters were little plaques, like those in hotels, saying: "No Sugar." It turned out that sugar was on sale only twice a day—a little in the morning, and some more in the afternoon.

...Long before opening time, a huge crowd gathered at store No 643 under the Zhovtnevy Rayon provision trust. Exactly at 0800 people, pushing and shoving each other, attacked the store's confectionery counter. Within 11 minutes, however, the solid line disintegrated: There was no sugar left, the morning limit was exhausted. "After 1700 there will be sugar in the grocery department," the saleswoman announced. Several people went over to the complaints and suggestions book (a few entries are added to it daily) and left the following entry, number 32: "Within 10 minutes after the opening of the store, there was no sugar. It is simply disgraceful! G.A. Golembyovskiy, Yaroslav Galan Street, 26."

I leaped through the book. "If this is a struggle against moonshining, it should be waged by those who are supposed to do that. But who gave someone the right to harm honest people?" "My year-old baby, I assure you, neither drinks nor brews moonshine. I think this is clear even to those wise men who invented this system of sugar trading. Let them explain to the baby why there is no sugar."

I visited I.M. Tarasyuk, deputy chief of the store. He showed me a Kiev Gorispolkom notification concerning stocks, dated 5 March. In accordance with this notification, the store had the right as of 6 March to sell no more than 67 kg of sugar daily, and as of 12 March, 132 kg. Moreover, the store was strictly instructed to sell 40 percent of the allotted amount after 0800, and the rest after 1700. On workers' days off and on holidays, sugar is to be sold only in the morning!

"By how much are the present restricted allotments of sugar less than the previous amounts which were sufficient for all?" I asked I.M. Tarasyuk.

"They are not less. They are significantly larger. Judge for yourself: Before it took a day to sell 90-100 kg, now 132 kg are gone in a moment...."

I made a telephone call to the Zhovtnevy Rayon grocery trust. A heated argument on sugar was in progress there, but I was told that the sales of sugar had been restricted by the main administration for trade under Kiev Gorispolkom. I telephoned the acting administration chief, Yu.A. Rylach, but he was attending a conference on sugar, too. However, I learned that by no means had the restrictions been invented by local functionaries, but were recently introduced by the republic's Ministry of Trade. In order to clarify the meaning of such a bold experiment, I immediately telephoned Deputy Minister V.S. Timofeyev. Having taken a note of my name and duties, Vladimir Sergeyevich set about explaining:

"The republic's stocks of sugar are larger than last year. They amount to 575,000 tons, or to 33.2 kg per capita. This amount significantly exceeds scientifically substantiated norms. Kiev will receive 75,800 tonnes of sugar, or more than last year. But in the past 2 months the city exceeded its ceiling by 640 tonnes, and the republic by 25,000 tonnes. This is why we have adopted the decision to sell sugar evenly: exactly as much as scheduled for a day, a month, a quarter... As soon as people find out that sugar is always available, and that its price is stable, the stir will subside."

"But before the new sales system was introduced, there was no stir at all. How can one convince a person who was unable to enjoy a cup of sweet tea today that the new sales system is better?"

"I do not know what could have aroused such a panic."

"Most probably your innovations. After all, even a few days ago there was enough sugar in stores. And suddenly, a panic. How can it be overcome now? Many readers advise following the system used in other regions of the country where sugar is being sold in exchange for coupons."

"I do not know anything about other regions. This decision is up to the soviets of people's deputies. We, on our part, have no objections to it."

"Tell me please, if it is not secret: Where do staff members of the Ministry of Trade and you yourself, Vladimir Sergeyevich, buy sugar?"

"At places where you buy..."

"Unfortunately, today I was not able to buy any."

"Well, several days ago I easily bought a kilogram of sugar in Parkhomenko Street."

...A few days ago, indeed, there was no problem yet. But at present this problem is very acute. Why? Is not because trade functionaries, having confused the consequences with the cause, added one more item on the list of commodities which are short in supply?



### Trade Ministry Statement

AU231652 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
18 Mar 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Trade Explains"]

[Text] In individual oblasts of the republic and in the city of Kiev, lines have recently formed for the sugar that has been allotted for sale to the population. Various republic-level authorities, newspapers, television, and radio have received many questions and proposals about this.

On 17 March the republic's radio and television broadcast an explanation given on this occasion by A.S. Statinov, Ukrainian minister of trade. The minister pointed out that the republic's stocks for the current year were no smaller than last year. They are sufficient to fully meet both the domestic needs of the population and the needs of public catering. With the addition of sugar intended for confectionary purposes, the allotments even exceed the norms prescribed for rational food needs.

However, there are dishonest people who do not consume sugar but waste this valuable and at the same time cheap product in moonshining. This is precisely the main cause of the stoppages in the trade in sugar. Last year the excess in the republic amounted to 150,000 tons, or 10 percent of the sugar, and in individual oblasts significantly more. Moreover, rumors are being spread that prices will go up on 1 April. These rumors are groundless.

This is why the Ministry of Trade has been forced to advise trade organizations to consult the local soviets and, if need be, to apply the most convenient system of selling sugar within the limits of allotted stocks. In individual oblasts and localities, this has been done. In the city of Kiev, for example, sugar is being sold early in the morning and in the evening, and in other cities, only in the evening.

But this measure did not solve the problem. Even though in Kiev, for example, sales of sugar have recently increased significantly, the lines hardly got any shorter. For this reason, following proposals made by labor collectives and individual citizens, as well as the practice of other republics, in a number of oblasts and in the city of Kiev consideration is now being given to the idea of rationing sugar. Given the existing conditions, these proposals seem to be expedient.

In addition, there are also shortcomings in the organization of trade. There are delays in sugar deliveries, in distribution among stores, and in assessing amounts required. Trade workers have not always correctly explained the causes of the stoppages. The ministerial board is currently examining all these cases and taking the measures necessary.

In this respect, we expect the public to show a reasonable attitude and their support. The negative phenomena that brought about the stoppages in sugar supplies to the population can only be overcome by joint efforts. And, above all, it is necessary to expand the front of the struggle against moonshining, and to put an end to the groundless rumors.

### Ukrainian Ministers Reprimanded for Shortcomings

LD221128 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian  
0445 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the UkSSR Council of Ministers has examined the serious shortcomings in fulfilling the plans for cash liquidity, goods turnover, production of consumer goods, and rendering of paid services to the population in the first quarter of 1988.

The decision adopted notes that a number of ministries and departments of the UkSSR and of oblispolkoms have demonstrated an irresponsible attitude toward fulfilling the plans for producing consumer goods, retail trade, and rendering paid services which has negatively affected the satisfaction of the population's purchasing capacities.

The republic's Ministry of Trade, association of consumer co-ops, ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms are not exerting adequate effort in organizing the fulfillment of the planned tasks and are not sufficiently maneuvering with commodities. The established work regime of trade outlets and public catering establishments is not being observed and the standard of services remains low. Many associations and enterprises are not fulfilling their plans for the output of consumer goods. [passage omitted]

The UkSSR Council of Ministers reprimanded Maselskiy, chairman of the Kharkov Oblispolkom, for the systematic failure of the oblast to fulfill the plans for goods turnover, cash liquidity, and rendering paid services to the population as well as for not taking necessary measures to normalize the money supply and for failing to pay wages on time to workers and employees. [passage omitted]

It was pointed out in strict terms to Shevchenko, minister of building materials; Nikitenko, minister of light industry; Shmatolyan, minister of grain products; Tkach, minister of land reclamation and water resources; Romanenko, minister of health; Parkhomenko, minister of higher and secondary specialized education; Fomenko, minister of education; Stadnichenko, chairman of the State Committee for Cinematography; and also to the chairmen of the Vinnitsa, Donetsk, and Voroshilovgrad Oblispolkoms, that their organizations failed to fulfill plans for rendering paid services to the population. [passage omitted]

**Georgian Patriarch Rejects VOA Allegations**  
*LD232208 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT  
23 Mar 88*

[Text] Tbilisi March 23 TASS—The bell sounded today in the new church of the ancient Georgian Village of Ude calling the believers for a prayer.

This is the sixth church opened in Soviet Georgia over the past year, a TASS correspondent was told by Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia Iliya the Second who commented on a recent broadcast of the "Voice of America" in the Georgian language. With a reference to a publication in the [word indistinct] press, the Voice of America made allegations about discrimination against the Georgian Orthodox Church. It asserted that the local authorities put all kinds of obstacles to the restoration of churches, prohibit conducting services in Georgian.

"It is sad when people do not stop at so sacreligious allegations," the Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia said. "Even though the church in the Soviet Union is separated from the state, we have good relations with the government of the republic. The constitutional guarantees of the freedom of conscience are fully ensured. An ecclesiastical academy will (?be opened) in Tbilisi. The building for the academy has been provided by the state."

Iliya the Second said that tuition in the academy will be in Georgian. Georgian is the language of the service in the overwhelming majority of churches. The exclusions are made when people of other nationalities predominate in the congregation.

The Georgian Autocephalous Orthodox Church publishes in Georgian the journal "DZHVARI VAZISA." The number of its issues will double since this year. Three kinds of church calendars are systematically published. A special bulletin in English is issued for foreign readers.

"French journalists and the Voice of America which quotes them have no reason to be concerned about the position of the Georgian Church," Iliya the second said. "We are capable of settling our affairs without outside assistance. And we have a lot to do: We are to open churches in a number of populated localities, to restore monasteries and expand the publishing house."

**Hotels for Officials' Use Appear in Kazakhstan**

PM221203 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 March 1988 Morning Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "They Are Bored With Playing at Restructuring" an 1,800-word own correspondent O. Stefashin report from the Kazakh SSR on the setting aside of sumptuous houses as private hotels for local officials. This policy, Stefashin states, used to be widespread and was the result of the "flattery, window dressing, and abuses" that once prevailed in Kazakhstan.

However, with the coming of restructuring more than 700 of these houses were handed over to families, clinics, and sanatoriums. Just 6 months later, though, families were once again expelled from their new quarters in the city of Arkalyk, Stefashin writes. The workers even wrote to Moscow, but got "no reply," and the houses, equipped with "sumptuous furniture," carpets, and expensive stereos were once again used exclusively by senior officials. Stefashin cites other examples: "In Dzhezkazgan and Kokchetav the oblistpolkoms' prestige houses were transferred to the oblast municipal services. That is, they supposedly became ordinary hotels. But do not jump to conclusions and feel deeply satisfied. The labels were changed in the hope that they would help to hide the old system from the working people and the new leadership of the republic. These hotels continue to lodge only the chosen few—something I found out for myself when I tried to book a room in Dzhezkazgan.

"Or take Pavlodar. A similar inaccessible mansion was hidden for a long time as a supposed offshoot of the 'Irtys' Hotel. With 19 rooms and having cost the city R300,000, it annually accounted for another R30,000 out of the local budget."

Stefashin states that such examples of houses being reclaimed by the authorities for their sole use has "boosted the morale of those whose noses were put out of joint by the restoration of social justice." He concludes: "Of course, few people see restructuring as a rapid process that will soon be over. Procedures and customs that have grown up over many years cannot be swept away overnight. But here we are faced with something different—attempts to retard the process of improving our society. If resolute measures are not taken today we may find tomorrow that we are talking about the ideas of restructuring in the past tense."

**Ligachev, Others Tour Museum Renovations**  
*PM241339 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Accelerating Renovation"]

[Excerpts] Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, and L.N. Zaykov familiarized themselves with the course of the renovation of Moscow's cultural and art facilities—the buildings of the Tretyakov Gallery, the Moscow Academy Arts Theater named for M. Gorkiy on Moskvina Street, the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, and the Great Hall of the P.I. Tchaikovsky Conservatory.

These and the capital's other cultural centers are being renovated and expanded in accordance with a USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted last year "On the Comprehensive Renovation and Development of the Historic Center of Moscow in the Period Through the Year 2000." They are unique repositories of national art and are of tremendous significance in the cultural life of the entire country. [passage omitted]

The following took part in examining the questions: Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; V.F. Isayev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; and the leaders of cultural and art establishments.

**Ligachev Speaks at Exhibition of Sporting Goods**  
*PM241010 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Increasing the Output and Improving the Quality of Sports Goods"]

[Text] It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum that shortcomings in the development of mass physical culture and sport, particularly among students, are largely due to the poor provision of sports and tourist goods to the population. Many articles are of low quality.

On 22 March Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev, O.D. Baklanov, and A.P. Biryukova visited an exhibition of goods for physical culture, sports, and tourism that has been organized in Moscow. There was critical analysis of the work of central and local organs on these questions.

A conference held at the exhibition was addressed by M.V. Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, and USSR ministers Yu.A. Besspalov and N.V. Lemayev.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted in his speech that in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan the production of track shoes almost doubled, there was a 22 percent increase in knitwear, and more of certain other goods began to be produced. At the same time ministries and departments involved in the sports industry did not take exhaustive measures to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of all targets for increasing the production and improving the quality of sports goods. In the last 2 years production plans were not met in the case of practically one in two types of product.

Demand is growing more rapidly than production. Sports and tourist goods, especially those of high quality, are in short supply in many cities and villages and it is difficult and sometimes impossible to buy them in the stores. Thus there has yet to be a radical breakthrough in resolving this problem.

One reason is the lack of the appropriate raw material and semifinished products in the necessary volume. In this connection the meeting criticized the leaders of the USSR Ministries of Light Industry, of the Chemicals Industry, and of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemicals

Industry, which, having drawn up a comprehensive program for expanding the production of high quality raw materials and semifinished products for the production of sportswear, footwear, and leather goods, are only working poorly and without initiative to fulfill it. The USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry failed to supply a considerable quantity of skis. The USSR Ministry of Trade is bad at distributing commodity resources, which intensifies the shortage in certain regions even when the goods are available in the country as a whole. The intersector council under the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports should operate more energetically.

It was noted that local party and soviet organs should devote more attention to the production of goods for sports and tourist purposes. Whereas in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Armenia sports goods are produced to the value of R45-65 per head of population, in the Ukraine the figure is only R26, and in Uzbekistan it is even lower—R11. Diversity is characteristic of these indicators for the oblasts of the RSFSR: In Perm and Tomsk Oblasts the figure is R65 and R57 respectively, yet in Chelyabinsk it is R19, and in Kemerovo Oblast only R7 per inhabitant.

Ye.K. Ligachev noted that leaders of ministries and departments and local organs must significantly step up organizational work and monitoring of the unconditional fulfillment of targets and instructions for producing sports goods laid down in resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. Here the targets set must be regarded as a minimum, and the only question can be that of increasing them. It is necessary really to get down to tackling long-term questions, first and foremost ensuring the production of raw materials for the mass production of high quality sports goods and equipment. In particular, the USSR Ministry of the Chemicals Industry must ensure the creation of a unit for the production of polyurethane for the manufacture of footwear at the Rubezhanskiy "Krasitel" production association (Ukrainian SSR), commission a shop for the production of plastics for footwear production in Kemerovo, and extend the output of high elasticity yarns for new knitted and sewn goods at its enterprises. The USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemicals Industry has plans to commission a polyurethane production complex, also for the production of modern footwear, at the Kazan synthetic rubber plant.

Taking part in the viewing of the exhibition and the discussion were V.K. Gusev and V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.G. Afonin, O.S. Belyakov, L.F. Bobykin, A.I. Volskiy, A.G. Melnikov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, and N.A. Stashenkov, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee sections; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers,

the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Gosnab, and leaders of ministries and departments and physical culture, sports, and trade organizations.

### **Biryukova Visits Georgian Enterprises**

*LD172344 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1800 GMT 17 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Biryukova, who is in Georgia, is continuing to acquaint herself with light industry enterprises and state and cooperative organizations of the republic.

The Kutaysi silk textile sewing production association is one of the oldest in the town: It turned out its first production, just six tonnes of raw silk, back in 1929. Now the enterprise accounts for 70 percent of the silk fabrics produced in the republic. The range is varied: products made both of natural silk, and of artificial and synthetic fibers. The transition to new methods of management is not proceeding easily, for just 1 year ago above-norm leftover goods and materials amounted to R64 million, and debts to the bank and suppliers came to 110 million, with a gap of around R43 million in working assets. Financial autonomy, self-financing, and utilization of reserves have facilitated a slight improvement in the general situation. Addressing the production workers, Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova said: By modernizing your stock of machine tools, and without waiting for reconstruction, you will be able to obtain better results, especially as there are qualified people who know their job in the association.

Comrade Biryukova visited the Rudoni cooperative, which operates in the town's tskhaltula zone [as heard]. It comprises 36 people, who are exclusively local inhabitants, including housewives. They are all collective farm workers; and a compulsory work condition in the cooperative is strict fulfillment of commitments in picking tea leaves and producing grain and dairy produce. The cooperative specializes in the production of outer wear, which goes straight into the shops, in accordance with direct contracts with trading organizations.

On returning to Tbilisi, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited the Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy of the Republic, where she acquainted herself with an exhibition of new lines for the current and future seasons.

### **Tours Cooperatives**

*LD190004 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
1900 GMT 18 Mar 88*

[Text] The practical work of party, soviet, and economic bodies in Georgia aimed at providing the population with goods and free services was the center of attention of Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, during her stay in the Republic 14-18 March. She visited the

Worsted Cloth Combine Sapcheto-Sakartvelo, the production associations Isani, Goldani, and Elva, the Aviation Dimitrov Association in Tbilisi, the Silk combine, and the Kirov Garment Association in Kataisi. She also visited the republican national economy exhibition, the Tbilisi fashion center, a shopping center in Tskhaltubo, and some other trade, consumer service and public catering centers.

She acquainted herself with the work of cooperatives. On her trip, Comrade Biryukova was accompanied by Comrade Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; and Comrade Cherkeziya, chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers.

### **Biryukova Attends Journal Presentation Soiree**

*LD202227 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian  
2030 GMT 20 Mar 88*

[Excerpts] The presentation to the Soviet public of the first number of ZHURNAL MOD took place in the State Concert Hall in the capital today. [passage omitted]

The soiree was attended by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Biryukova; Bobykin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department; and Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plans and the Book Trade.

### **Filimonov Assumes Top Petroleum Industry Post**

*PM241047 Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY  
PRAVITELSTVA SSSR: OTDEL PERVYY in Russian  
No 9, 1988, p 151*

[USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 190: "On the First Deputy Minister of the USSR Petroleum Industry"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. To appoint Comrade L.I. Filimonov first deputy minister of the USSR Petroleum Industry, releasing from these duties Comrade V.I. Igrevskiy in connection with his retirement.

2. To release Comrade L.I. Filimonov from the duties of first deputy minister of the USSR Gas Industry.

N. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman

M. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs

Moscow, Kremlin. 11 February



**Yagodin Views Education Committee's Plans**  
*PM211117 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition p 6*

["Interview" with G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, by TASS correspondent A. Tsyganov, especially for PRAVDA: "Education: A Unified Policy"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] A State Committee for Public Education has been created. It unites under one roof, as it were, the departments formerly dealing with education, young people's vocational training, and higher education.

A TASS correspondent interviewed G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education.

[Tsyganov] Gennadiy Alekseyevich, you spent many years in lecturing and pedagogical work in higher education, were rector of Moscow's D.I. Mendeleyev Chemical Technology Institute, and were minister of higher and secondary specialized education. How do you perceive the essence of the problems now facing public education?

[Yagodin] Only highly educated and skilled cadres can meet the demands posed by the scientific and technical revolution. Cadres who are continuously learning, relearning, and retraining—nowadays knowledge at times becomes obsolete more quickly than technology. But this process of self-development begins with a certain minimum amount of knowledge, a firm foundation ensuring the desire to improve one's cultural and intellectual standard.

Universal secondary education was to have provided such a foundation in our country. But as time passed, it became clear that we had embarked on solving this task without a sound material base, without the appropriate methodological preparation, without a sufficiently trained teachers' corps. The mandatory nature of education produced a situation whereby everyone in school began to be dragged into obtaining a school certificate, even those who were unwilling or unable to learn. The result was a statistical stranglehold, percentage mania. Form started dictating content, and responsibility to superior authority became inordinately greater while there was virtually no responsibility to the people.

[Tsyganov] What solution do you perceive in your new capacity as chairman of the state committee responsible for the entire education system?

[Yagodin] These problems cannot be resolved by organizational measures alone. The prime need is money. We envisage a systematic doubling of funds for capital construction and material and technical supplies. But even money is not everything. Money is of course allocated to us for capital construction. But we make use of only 70 percent of these funds. At best 75-85 percent.

Construction organizations are short of resources. In other words, our money remains just so much paper without materializing in the form of buildings, computer rooms, laboratories, libraries.... All is not well in terms of equipment supplies for the tuition process. We spend R2,300 on equipment per student. A VUZ which enjoys the best material and technical opportunities, like the MAI [expansion unknown] spends R10,000. Stanford University in the United States spends R80,000. Our schools spend R60 per school pupil. A top school which is materially well endowed school spends R300 per pupil. Sweden spends R1,000 per pupil.

Leaving the material base aside, prevailing habits in pedagogical work and school management present a real mass of difficulties. The solution of many questions is held up by the already existing teachers' corps, which cannot be rapidly replaced, rapidly re-educated, or rapidly taught.

Improving the quality of specialists is also the main problem in higher education. The teaching methods prevailing in our country do not measure up to contemporary demands.

The creative principle in education must be released and set free. The main emphasis must be placed on independent work by the student, the number of lectures must be reduced, and time must be provided for independent work.

[Tsyganov] Material facilities, computers, laboratories, individual work by students, improved qualifications for teachers. How is the specific implementation of these principles to be achieved?

[Yagodin] Primarily—and I repeat this—through independent and active participation by every student and school pupil in the process of acquiring knowledge of the world. The study process must be based on the principle: "You have studied, I have set you a problem, you have solved it." We want to move away from the system of "narrative" examinations to a system of substantive examinations. And written ones. Examinations in which students could use anything suitable but would have to demonstrate that they can manipulate the sum total of the knowledge they have acquired. It is necessary—just like in secondary education—to sharply reduce the number of subjects being studied.

[Tsyganov] And who will decide all this—what do students need, what is absolutely necessary?

[Yagodin] The principle here is clear: The one who does the work has the best knowledge of it. This is why questions of study plans and programs will be decided by VUZ's themselves and by training-methodology associations in consultation with the national economic sectors for which they train specialists.

Broad democratization of the entire activity of VUZ's will ensure monitoring of the quality of training. We have already given students the right to assess the quality of lecturers' work. Such assessment can only help a real lecturer. In order to ensure that these assessments are backed up by action, we have placed students on the scientific council with the right to participate in the selection of lecturers. They must constitute one-fourth of the council's membership. Students have always known who is who. Then we came up against the next question: Why an appointed rector, let's elect him as well. Moreover, students must cast one-third of the votes in such elections. Since March last year not a single rector has been appointed unless he was elected. There are provisions for the rector to report back after 5 years and have his work assessed by secret ballot.

This is just one example of the new approach toward these questions. And as soon as glasnost and democracy hold full sway, there will no longer be any need for any professional monitors.

[Tsyganov] What are the plans regarding secondary education?

[Yagodin] I think that the changes here will be even greater. We will probably embark on the widespread creation of supervisory councils. It is very important to ensure that questions concerning life in secondary schools, their functions, and teachers' life and conditions are increasingly solved by the people, in the full light of publicity, as we used to say. There is a great need for school democratization. Furthermore, secondary education will not deal with vocational training, which still does not provide an opportunity to master specialized knowledge to contemporary standards.

On the whole, there are many plans. The work is now beginning.

#### **Previously 'Suppressed' Books Being Released**

PM241001 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 22 Mar 88 p 8

[Interview with V.A. Solodin, member of the Collegium of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press (USSR Glavlit), conducted by own correspondent V. Shvarts: "Returned from the Special Repositories"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Shvarts: Vladimir Alekseyevich, you are chairman of the indepartmental commission on the transfer of Soviet and foreign literature from special repositories into the general stock of libraries. I know that the commission was set up 1 year ago. Everyone is naturally curious to know what has been achieved in the interim. But first, would you please explain what special repositories actually are and their purpose?

Solodin: I would put it this way: They are intended for keeping literature which, for various reasons, is of restricted access. This primarily means publications bearing the stamp "secret," "for official use only," and so forth. Incidentally, it is not political or literary works but scientific and technical publications containing state or military secrets that predominate here.

The special repository stocks also include a large number of foreign publications consigned there at various times for political reasons. And, finally, the special repositories contain literature whose fate, I would say, arouses the keenest public interest. These are works published in our country at different times and which have also, for certain political reasons, been placed on the lists of books not freely accessible.

Let me say immediately that books whose authors suffered repression during the period of the Stalinist cult of personality or publications of that period which have other so-called "defects" formed the overwhelming majority here: They may have contained introductions written by political figures who suffered repression, photographs of them, quotations from works, and so forth. During that time even what would appear the most innocent publications like, for example, a "Punctuation" manual and a collection called "The School Stage" were "banned." A very great deal of such literature built up—at the beginning of the sixties its lists alone ran to dozens of volumes, including hundreds of thousands of items.

It would be wrong to think that the lists of "banned" literature have not been examined since the organization of the special repositories (and their emergence was itself quite logical: Such repositories also exist abroad). Quite intensive work on transferring publications from the special repositories into general-access stock was carried out from roughly the mid-sixties through the mid-seventies. Many books by authors rehabilitated after the 20th party congress were transferred. But the time of stagnation, when it was impossible to publish what we can freely read today, put the brakes on our work. So, at the time the commission was set up, around 6,000 political and literary works published in our country in Russian and the languages of other USSR peoples were still "banned."

Shvarts: What was the commission's brief?

Solodin: It stemmed from the party's course of renewing society and increasing glasnost and democracy. When we speak today about open discussion of the problems built up in past decades, the filling of historical lacunae, and in-depth, objective analysis of our achievements and shortcomings, no one questions that books are capable of promoting the development of these processes.

Shvarts: I can't help thinking of a line of poetry: "Old books bear forth new knowledge when the time is ripe...."

Solodin: That is why our commission, created by decision of the party organs, is operating. It includes representatives of the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and the USSR Glavlit. Such commissions were formed at the same time in republics, krais, and certain autonomous oblasts where special repositories exist.

Shvarts: So, a year has gone by...

Solodin: And in this time around 4,000 out of the 6,000 books I mentioned have been examined. And roughly 3,500 of them have already been returned to general-access stocks. This work is continuing at a pretty intensive rate, since we have to complete it in November.

To prevent any misunderstandings I will also say why nevertheless roughly 500 of those books we have examined still remain in special repositories. These are in the main books of the civil war period published on territory where White Guards and interventionists temporarily held sway. It is incorrigibly provocative literature: White Guard, Socialist Revolutionary, nationalist literature.... It would scarcely be sensible to make such writings accessible to all, since, unfortunately, there are elements in society which might exploit it for purposes far removed from the furtherance of knowledge. However, I should say that we are still returning to examine these books, since they demand closer study by us and need the wheat to be separated from the chaff. And it is quite possible that some of them will then be transferred to general repositories.

Solodin: I quite understand your reasoning. Yet the list of books now "accessible" includes the memoirs of Kerenskiy and the Cossack leader, Krasnov, the books of Boris Savinkov, Denikin's "History of the Troubles in Russia".... Yet their authors were rabid enemies of Soviet power, were they not?

Shvarts: Let us not forget that all these books were published by Soviet publishing houses in the twenties. There is only one explanation here, I think: The party of the victorious proletariat was certain of the rightness and strength of its ideas and was not afraid of its political opponents' ideas being expressed in print. Why, then, should we "conceal" these books today, when people's conviction of the rightness of their cause has grown immeasurably?

Shvarts: Readers would also like to learn, I think, about other books transferred to open stocks.

Solodin: It is impossible, of course, to talk about everything. If, for example, we are talking about sociopolitical literature, I would cite the collection "Lenin on Trotsky and Trotskyism," a number of reminiscences concerning Vladimir Ilich by his comrades-in-arms, and many works by A.V. Lunacharskiy: say, his essay on the history

of the Socialist Revolutionary Party entitled "Yesterday's Men," the collection of articles entitled "Art and Revolution," and the book "Literary Silhouettes"; a number of works by N.K. Krupskaya and Klara Tsetkin, the works of V.I. Nevskiy, the prominent Leninist Bolshevik and one of the party's first historians, and the works of Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy, V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, and others. Literary works of interest, in my view, include volumes of poetry (six of them) by Sergey Yesenin and reminiscences about them, a three-volume collection of essays by Mikhail Koltsov published in 1928-1929 and other books by him from the same period, and the works of Igor Severyanin and such long-unpublished writers as Ivan Shmelev and Yevgeniy Zamyatin.

Shvarts: I should like to ask you about the fate of books whose authors were at one time convicted in the case of the so-called "anti-Soviet right-wing Trotskyist bloc"....

Solodin: Immediately after the publication of the well-known report of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission we began work on the return of those books to the general stock. The creative legacy of many of the politicians who were unlawfully repressed and who have now had their good name restored was quite considerable: There were over 180 books and brochures belonging to N.I. Bukharin, for example, and around 70 belonging to A.I. Rykov. And just last Thursday the order was signed authorizing the transfer of their works as well as books belonging to A.P. Rozengolts, M.A. Chernov, and others to the general stock. There are more than 500 titles.

Shvarts: Another question springs to mind: It is common knowledge that the special stocks include the works of people who have left our country in recent decades. Will that area of "restricted" literature be reexamined?

Solodin: I think that here we must be guided by the following principle: If those authors' books were once published in our country, they should be returned to the general stock. It is more complex when dealing with works published abroad. Each case, clearly, must be examined on its merits. If they are not markedly anti-Soviet in content and do not contradict the provisions of our Constitution, then surely such books may take their place in the general stock.

In brief, by November when, as I have already said, we are required to finish all the work, the number of formerly "suppressed" books will be reduced to the absolute minimum.

Shvarts: May the books which have been returned be republished?

Solodin: Of course.

Shvarts: And photocopied?

**Solodin:** Like any other book which is in the general stock.

**Shvarts:** At the beginning of our conversation you touched on the question of foreign publications contained in the special stocks. Are they going to become more accessible to the general reader?

**Solodin:** It should not be forgotten that there are two different political systems in the world, two ideologies, and the struggle between them is not coming to an end. That is why the special stocks of literature published abroad were created. However, whereas quite recently many books published in the West were regarded as examples of "ideological subversion" and almost automatically "banned," now the criteria for evaluating them have changed: They are becoming generally available. I am sure that readers can judge for themselves what a given author's intentions are. Now, for example, it is permitted to freely transport and receive from abroad for personal use religious primary sources such the Bible, the Koran, gospels, and so forth, and religious journals so long as, of course, they do not contain articles of an anti-Soviet nature. I think that such a provision is quite sensible and fair.

Returning to your question, I would say that all reference books and encyclopaedias published abroad without exception have now been returned to the general stock. Similar work is in progress with regard to political and literary works. It is true that there are a great many books of that kind and it would take us a vast amount of time to decide each one. Thus to accelerate the process the USSR Glavlit has now empowered all owners of special stocks—libraries, various departments, enterprises, and establishments—to decide for themselves the question of transferring all the literature in storage (books and journals) published abroad before 1985 to the general stock.

Unfortunately the owners of special stocks are in no hurry to make use of this right, either because of inert thinking or from a kind of psychological timidity. But this work needs to be speeded up as does, for example, the process of transferring works published in our country to the open stocks.

**Shvarts:** If I have understood you correctly, there is a paradox here: Previously the USSR Glavlit representatives checked that publications from the "banned" list did not find their way into the public stocks of libraries but now you are interested in ensuring the opposite?

**Solodin:** Indeed, otherwise the commission's entire activity would be pointless. After all, we are working to clear a decades-old backlog as quickly as possible. And the important thing is that we do not intend to create new backlogs: We are sending 10-15 times fewer books to the special stocks now than, for example, 18 months-2 years ago. Incidentally, access to the special stocks is now considerably easier: It has been decided that members of

the creative unions, including the USSR Union of Journalists, have the right to use the special stocks for their work on presentation of their members' card, as do doctors and candidates of sciences on presentation of their degree diploma. No other documents are necessary. That provision already exists in a number of regions and in the major libraries, including the Lenin Library.

### Icon Thefts, Smuggling Links Described

PM230947 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian on 15 March 1988 carries on page 4 under the headline "In Need of Protection: Comment on a Court Verdict" a 1,500-word article by special correspondent S. Snegirev about a wave of thefts from churches and other religious premises in the Moscow region and Saratov and other unnamed oblasts in 1985-1986. The article outlines the methods used by the gang of thieves led by one V.F. Grigoryev, who was eventually sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment, with sentences almost as long imposed on his "accomplices." Snegirev notes that the number of thefts has fallen sharply since the break up of the gang but feels "no optimism" about the future because, he argues, the thieves themselves and those who appear in court are "essentially only cogs in a complex criminal mechanism" controlled by those who deal in stolen religious artifacts. Catching the dealers, Snegirev says, is "incredibly difficult," partly because of their method of operating "one on one" with the thieves and also because it is hard to prove that they resell the icons for a profit, which constitutes a crime. Finally, Snegirev examines the smuggling of Russian icons out of the country and the very high prices they fetch at auctions in the West. He says:

"There is a direct link here: From the thief to the 'dealer,' from the 'dealer' to the smuggler..."

"Long ago we learned to regard icons differently from how we used to and to fully appreciate what a valuable asset these unique monuments of ancient Russian art are for us and for other generations. But we have been so inexplicably slow and late in understanding what is surely most important—how are we to look after these rare works of art and how to make them truly the property of the people? Is it not through our sluggishness that various criminals have flourished, criminals who have long viewed icons merely as a way of getting rich? Why is it that at Sotheby's auctions the prices may leap to several thousands of dollars for our Russian icons which in their native land are doomed to a lamentable fate—to languish unknown for decades gathering dust somewhere in the back of beyond? Is the whole nub of the problem perhaps that those who are fighting most actively today to save and preserve our cultural assets are...law enforcement organs and customs officials? And are they in a position to do this work singlehanded?"

Snegirev criticizes the lack of facilities and specialist help for owners of religious artifacts who want to sell or exhibit their possessions. He continues:



"Perhaps the time has come to review the item of the USSR Law 'On Protecting and Utilizing Historical and Cultural Monuments' which envisages penalties for the collection, restoration, and exchange of icons without the appropriate local soviet ispolkom licence? After all, that penalty is absolutely ludicrous—a R50 fine for those who earn tens of thousands out of icons. Is that not why the 'dealers' and second-hand traders operate so brazenly?"

### Beria's Arrest Described by Participant

#### Part One

PM221115 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[First part of three-part article by correspondent Captain First Rank S. Bystrov under the "History and Destinies" rubric: "Special Mission. Colonel I. Zub, Now Major General, Retired, Was One of the Six Who Arrested Beria 26 June 1953"]

[Excerpts] On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Armed Forces, I met Major General, Retired, Ivan Grigoryevich Zub, of whom I first heard some 10 years ago while I was working on a feature about his son, the vice admiral. At that time Vitaliy Ivanovich commanded one of the Navy's largest task forces of surface ships. Speaking about his parents, V.I. Zub gave a slight hint that his father had taken part in Beria's arrest. But he gave no details. He evidently did not know any details. For many years Ivan Grigoryevich had not told even his sons about that special mission he had performed, keeping the promise of silence imposed by N.A. Bulganin's warning. It was in December 1953, following the completion of Beria's case, that N.A. Bulganin, minister of defense at the time, told those who took part in the arrest:

"Forget everything that you have learned, forget everything that you have seen. Don't ever talk about it to anyone." [passage omitted]

...When issuing instructions not to talk about what they had seen and what they had learned, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bulganin remarked that all six would be recommended for the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. In his customary blunt fashion, Maj Gen Zub spoke out:

"What did we do that nobody else would have done?"

Ultimately they were all awarded the Order of the Red Banner. [passage omitted]

Zub still has no idea how he came to be chosen as one of the six. But evidently Generals K. Moskalenko and P. Batitskiy, who were preparing the operation, had enough confidence in him, as, on their recommendation, did Zhukov.

One way or another, Ivan Grigoryevich was swiftly and decisively involved in the maelstrom of events.

On 26 June 1953 Ivan Grigoryevich was in his official dacha at Filya, when his special messenger Major N. Martynov informed him of an order to attend on the minister of defense. He was without fail to carry his personal sidearms, not in a holster but inside his pocket.

"Are you sure you haven't got it wrong?", Zub questioned Martynov in puzzlement. "Carry a gun on a visit to the minister?"

"These were the exact instructions given by Bulganin's adjutant. Verbatim. You'd better get going, they are waiting for you."

Indeed, Bulganin was waiting for Colonel Zub. At least, he was ushered immediately into the minister's office. [passage omitted]

"Are you prepared to carry out a government assignment?"

"I am prepared to carry out any assignment by the party and government."

"Very well, wait in the reception room. I'll call you back, just don't engage in any conversation with anyone. Should anybody ask you, tell them you have come for a conference."

People whom Zub knew well started gathering in the reception room: Col Gen K. Moskalenko, commander of Moscow District Air Defense; Lt Gen P. Batitskiy, first deputy commander of the Moscow Military District; Maj Gen A. Baksov, chief of staff of Moscow District Air Defense; Moskalenko's adjutant Lt Col V. Yuferev. They had all been inside the minister's office and, as if nothing had happened, engaged in the conversation customary for people waiting in a reception room, exchanged jokes. Marshal of the Soviet Union G.K. Zhukov, first deputy defense minister, went inside the minister's office several times. He alone among them all seemed nervous. But the reason proved to be quite mundane. Zhukov had been told in the morning that his car needed urgent repairs. And they simply could not repair it. Zhukov made several telephone calls from the reception room, evidently to the service workshop. One can imagine how the man on the other end of the line must have felt. [passage omitted]

Just like most military personnel in those years, Zub felt profound respect, and later on profound sympathy, for Georgiy Konstantinovich. Ivan Grigoryevich, like thousands of honest Soviet generals and officers, felt pain and anxiety when he was discredited and assigned to the Urals Military District.

Zhukov himself, judging by Simonov's remarks, recalled that period as follows:

"When I had already been dismissed from office as deputy minister and was commanding the district on Sverdlovsk, Abakumov, under Beria's leadership, was preparing a whole case about a military conspiracy. A whole number of officers were arrested, there was also a question of arresting me. Beria and Abakumov reached such heights of absurdity and baseness that they tried to present me as the man who headed the arrested officers and who had been hatching a military conspiracy against Stalin. But I was told later by people who had been present at the conversation that Stalin heard Beria's suggestion about arresting me and said:

"No, I won't let Zhukov be arrested. I don't believe any of this. I know him well. I came to know him better than I know myself during the 4 years of war."

"This is what I was told about the conversation, following which Beria's attempt to put an end to me failed."

Zhukov's presence and his already visible involvement in the performance of the still unknown assignment added greatly to Ivan Grigoryevich's spiritual calm.

A session of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium was being held at that time in the Kremlin, in Stalin's former office. This was the first time in many years that members of the Presidium, who had not only seen but also felt Beria's evil and absolute power, had joined together sufficiently to speak openly against him in order to put an end to the ugliest offspring of the personality cult. But nobody uttered a single word about the cult at that time, only 3 and 1/2 months after Stalin's death. Stalin remained Stalin for everyone in the country—great, infallible, irreproachable. The sorrow caused by his death was still alive in people's hearts.

### Part Two

PM221141 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[Second part of three-part article by correspondent Captain First Rank S. Bystrov under the "History and Destinies" rubric: "Special Mission"]

[Text] Why was it to the command of an air defense district that N.A. Bulganin and G.K. Zhukov gave preference in selecting people for this extraordinarily crucial, complex, and dangerous operation? In the Moscow garrison they could at that time count on two real forces: the servicemen of the Moscow military district and the Moscow air defense district although, it is true, the units of both were in camps outside the capital in connection with the summer period. Colonel General P.A. Artemyev, commander of the Moscow Military District, had once held a responsible post in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD]. This evidently weighed in assessing the situation. Incidentally, soon after Beria's arrest Artemyev was appointed to another post and in

view of the emergency nature of the situation Colonel General Moskalenko took charge of the district. For a while Kirill Semenovich was in command of two districts at the same time.

At the same time two MVD divisions were in Moscow. Essentially the Kremlin was guarded by men under Beria's command and the activity of the military was under special attention.... All this was taken into account in preparing the arrest. That was why the "raiding party" was driven to the Kremlin in official automobiles belonging to Bulganin (Moskalenko, Batitskiy, Zub, Yuferev) and to Zhukov (Baksov). The dark windows concealed those inside the cars from outside eyes without preventing them from seeing everything from inside.

The official story for the appearance of the group of military men in the Kremlin was that they had been called to a conference.

All six went into the rest room near the office where the Central Committee Presidium was in session. Apart from Zhukov no one (so Ivan Grigoryevich Zub believes to this day) had guessed the purport of the mission. Again they exchanged meaningless phrases and jokes—a reliable means of getting rid of excessive nervous tension. Finally N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev came out of the office.

"Do you know why you have been called here?" Nikita Sergeyevich asked. "You are charged with Beria's arrest."

"Are you ready?" Bulganin asked, specifically now.

"That's right, we're ready," all six answered in restrained voices.

Bulganin and Khrushchev explained what they should do and how and following what signal. In conclusion Khrushchev specified quite strictly:

"You must bear in mind that if the operation fails you will be enemies of the people."

Of course, this could have been left unsaid. Everyone knew who Beria was and who stood behind him. Ivan Grigoryevich had seen this man next to him only once: He wore a hat and a pince-nez (although, it later emerged, his sight was good), his gaze from bulging eyes was indifferent but somehow had a numbing effect. And all this in an elusive but obvious aura of arrogance.

I asked Ivan Grigoryevich what feeling Beria generated in him, an experienced political worker, at this meeting. He was a member of Stalin's Politburo, one of the government's leaders....

"Fear," Zub replied immediately. "As was probably the case with everyone."

When Khrushchev said what they had to do, Zub was somehow relieved. "At last," was the thought that flashed through his mind. And it was obvious that they all felt relieved. At least the reminder of their responsibility did not trouble anyone. Rapidly and efficiently they began to take up their starting positions.

There were three doors leading into Stalin's office. Following a call from Malenkov, who was chairing the session, they were to enter from all three doors in order to prevent even an attempt to escape. They were given weapons. Moskalenko had a nickel-plated Browning. When he started to ram in the round of ammunition it jammed [proizoshel perekos]. This caused both animation and fear—suppose, in fiddling with his pistol, Kirill Semenovitch had shot them here.

The bell rang.

Batitskiy and Zub entered the office from the reception room, Baksov and Yuferev entered from the corridor, and Zhukov and Moskalenko from the rest room.

Malenkov sat at the head of the table and to one side, behind a table set at a right angle to his, sat Khrushchev, Bulganin, and the other Presidium members. On the other side Beria sat at the top of the row. And one of the doors happened to be behind his back.

Here is how Ivan Grigoryevich himself described that moment word for word:

"When we came in, some members of the Presidium jumped from their seats, evidently unaware of the details of the arrest. Zhukov immediately reassured them all:

"Take it easy, comrades! Sit down."

"And we rapidly approached Beria from all three sides.

"When everyone had calmed down Malenkov said:

"Comrades, I suggest we examine the question of Beria once again."

"That is, they had been talking about it before. Everyone agreed. Then Malenkov continued:

"He is such a trickster, so dangerous, that the devil knows what he could do. So I suggest arresting him immediately."

"Everyone voted 'for.'"

"Beria sat motionless with the pistols aimed at him. I had a trophy Walther in my hand. I was in fact an excellent shot and at that moment my hand would not have trembled.

"After Malenkov's words Zhukov ordered:

"Get up! Follow us."

It was obvious that everything which was happening could not at first have been taken in by the all-powerful Beria. But he soon recovered, realizing full well that he alone could change the irreparable nature of the situation. He was being torn away from real power, from real strength—by just a few meters. The few meters to the nearest telephone, the nearest guard...

Under the escort of the six military men Beria passed through the door behind Malenkov, through the room with maps, diagrams, and documents, and into the rest room. I.G. Zub said that however many times he had visited the Kremlin, on each occasion he had without fail sought out with his eyes the windows of that room. They sat there for many hours with Beria in a state of the utmost tension, very well aware that because of some fortuitous occurrence the situation could change in a flash and realizing how strong and dangerous their "ward" still was.

So, on his way to the rest room, Beria regained his presence of mind. And, as he entered it, he made his first attempt.

"Sit down, comrades," he said to his escorts in a welcoming but masterful voice, pinning his hopes on the men's confusion and their habit of seeing in him a master of destiny.

"Silence!" Zhukov responded instantly. "You are not in command here."

"After a while Beria asked to go to the toilet. There is no doubt that he had an excellent knowledge of the entire layout of the premises and he was seeking opportunities to act, right up to drawing fire on himself while the former guards remained in the Kremlin."

Ivan Grigoryevich recalled how, in his days as a secondary school director, he had talked with a friend serving in the militia. To ensure that a dangerous criminal in an uncertain situation did not escape, they would cut all the buttons from his pants. That is what they did with Beria. Now he could only move about while holding his pants up with both hands, and that made surprise action impossible for him.

As political directorate chief Zub, who knew people well, was asked to compile a list of 50 reliable air defense generals and officers. On the pretext that these people had been invited to a conference, they were taken to the Kremlin. Then the changing of the watch and the guards was carried out. This took place smoothly. And when Beria was driven from the Kremlin (at last and forever) air defense officers were already standing at the gates. The departure was scheduled for the darkest part of the short, light June night. During this time they were fed twice in the sessions office. Waiters laid the table,

prepared everything—and left. Those who had taken part in the Central Committee Presidium session were the only ones to see Beria surrounded by the six in the Kremlin.

Outwardly Beria behaved calmly. When they took him out by night they hid their weapons in their pockets. Everyone got into the big government automobile. Zhukov did not come. His last order was to shoot if there was an attempt to escape. And Georgiy Konstantinovich no longer figured in the arrest group.

It is not hard to imagine how important it was to keep the operation secret until a specific moment. That is why not even any of the group in the automobile knew what would happen next. The automobile left the Kremlin through the Spasskiy gates and drove toward Lefortovo. There was no way Beria could have supposed that his first place of isolation would be a garrison guardroom cleared of arrested servicemen for the purpose. Nor could the people loyal to Beria scarcely have thought of it. Beria spent a week in one cell. Then he was transferred just as secretly to the underground premises of the Moscow military district headquarters.

These headquarters were under an apple orchard—a two-story building with a sessions hall and offices. Later, at the trial, Beria remarked that even he had not suspected that the military had such premises in Moscow.

After the war the building had obviously fallen into disuse. When they turned on the heating and water a pipe burst on the lower floor. But soon everything was put in order. The arrest group, which had later been joined by Lieutenant General A. Getman, occupied a large office. A separate room was allocated to hold Beria. The main task facing the six men headed by Moskalenko continued to be preventing Beria from escaping and protecting his life.

The next day Colonel General I.A. Serov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, arrived at Lefortovo. Moskalenko instructed Zub to meet him at the gates and to ask him to surrender any weapons.

With an air defense officer from the guardroom watch, Ivan Grigoryevich went to the gates. There was an automobile standing beyond the gates. In the automobile was Serov.

"Open the gates," he demanded of Zub.

"Get out and then we will open the gates," Ivan Grigoryevich answered.

The altercation continued for quite a while. In the end Serov entered and surrendered his weapon. Then Zub took him to Moskalenko.

The colonel general said that he had been instructed to interrogate the arrested man. A special room was prepared. Moskalenko ordered Batitskiy and Zub to be present.

"Who are these people?" Serov asked with displeasure when he saw them.

"They will be present at the interrogation."

"I will not conduct the interrogation with onlookers."

"Then I will not give you the prisoner."

The dispute dragged on. In the end Kirill Semenovich telephoned to Khrushchev and reported the situation.

"Let him come to the telephone," Khrushchev said.

After the telephone conversation Serov left without meeting with the prisoner. After that there were no visitors either to Lefortovo or to the district headquarters. But there was nonetheless one disconcerting incident involving Zub.

"I arrived at our headquarters on one occasion to decide a few matters," Ivan Grigoryevich said. "After all, no one had relieved me of my duties as chief of the district political directorate. I was about to leave. The automobile was in its place but the driver was not there. I waited. He arrived.

"Where have you been?"

"I was called by the officer in charge [operupolnomochenny]."

"Why?"

"He asked me where you were."

"I realized that someone wanted to know where I was and what I was doing. I immediately summoned the headquarters commander, whose name was Khizhnyako.

"Ask the officer in charge to come to see me."

"After all they feared these people like the plague.

"The officer came in.

"Your identification and headquarters pass"

"And I immediately ordered Khizhnyako:

"Take this man's pass and never let him set foot here again."

"If I had allowed myself to do that 6 months before it would have been the end of me."



### Part Three

PM231341 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
20 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Third and final part of series by correspondent Captain First Rank S. Bystrov under the "History and Destinies" rubric: "Special Mission"]

[Text] The large submarine hunter commanded by Guards Captain-Lieutenant V. Zub (Ivan Grigoryevich's older son) was in its home base. Vitaliy Ivanovich remembers one day in early July. There was a knock on his cabin door at 0610 hours, and the radio operator poked his head in.

"Comrade Commander, Beria is an enemy of the people."

Zub turned over in his bunk.

"You didn't have too much to drink on your furlough yesterday, did you?"

"Certainly not."

"I see. But nevertheless..."

"Comrade Commander, it was just broadcast on the radio. It will be repeated at 0700 hours; I'll call you."

The commander got up quickly, washed, and was in the radio cabin by 0700 hours. Just as the announcer started reading the report of Beria's arrest.

Of course, Vitaliy Ivanovich could not even imagine that his father had taken part in Beria's arrest. But subsequent events worried him and compelled him to telephone Moscow.

A captain-lieutenant, staffer of the fleet's special department, arrived on the ship 2 days after the news. Zub knew him well, since the officer was responsible for the unit's ships.

"I'll spend about a week with you," the captain-lieutenant said.

And he showed a certificate, as required by the regulation.

The commander invited the visitor to the wardroom. The conversation was, naturally, about Beria's arrest. And suddenly the captain-lieutenant started saying things that put all officers on their guard. Under Beria, he said, their organs were riding high, but what was happening now was anybody's guess.

The commander immediately tried to change the subject of conversation, and later invited the captain-lieutenant to his cabin.

"I can't understand your behavior. No more talk like this, otherwise I'll be forced to make a report to the fleet staff."

"What did I say?"

"Beria has been arrested, very serious charges have been filed against him, so how can you praise him?"

The officer said nothing, but there was similar talk in the wardroom the next day.

Vitaliy Ivanovich decided to telephone his father. His aide Martynov answered:

"Ivan Grigoryevich is away on duty. You are planning some leave, I believe. You'll learn everything when you come here."

Zub then explained his problem. The special messenger gave him a telephone number, suggesting that he phoned in the evening.

His father heard him out calmly, advised him to do nothing. The next day the captain-lieutenant left the ship.

Later on, back in Moscow, he and his father drew the conclusion that this visit had not been accidental and that the captain-lieutenant may have been hoping to get some information from Zub Junior about his father.

The following information report was published in PRAVDA 10 July 1953:

"A CPSU Central Committee Plenum was held a few days ago.

"The CPSU Central Committee Plenum, having heard and discussed the Central Committee Presidium report by Comrade G.M. Malenkov on L.P. Beria's criminal antiparty and antistate actions aimed at undermining the Soviet state in the interests of foreign capital, which took the form of treacherous attempts to place the USSR MVD above the government and the CPSU, adopted a decision to remove L.P. Beria from the CPSU Central Committee and to expel him from the CPSU as an enemy of the Communist Party and the Soviet people."

The idea of the harmful nature of the personality cult, capable of breeding monstrous phenomena within the party and the state, could clearly be discerned in the editorial entitled "Unbreakable Unity of the Party, the Government, and the Soviet People" published below this report, though outwardly it was written in the spirit of the Stalinist times. "At the same time," the editorial said, "political lessons must be learned and the necessary conclusions drawn from Beria's case."

"The strength of our leadership lies in its collective, cohesive, and monolithic nature. Collectiveness of leadership is the supreme principle of leadership in our party. This principle fully conforms with Marx' well known tenets about the harmful nature and impermissibility of a personality cult."

This idea still had to mature and gather strength before it became a program at the 20th party congress, after which an assessment of Beria was provided in full.

Meanwhile, however, the accusations against Beria mainly boiled down to his political adventurism, bourgeois degeneration, and antiparty and antistate actions.

The official investigation of Beria's case began some 10 days after his arrest and was assigned to R.A. Rudenko, who was Ukrainian SSR prosecutor at the time. Ivan Grigoryevich Zub attended all the interrogations, which lasted through December and filled over 50 volumes.

Beria initially declared that he was totally innocent and would make no statements. He demanded to be released. And he kept the guards constantly on their toes. On one occasion, when a colonel took him his food, Beria threw a footstool at him. The officer hurried to Moskalenko's office, where Batitskiy and Zub were also present at the time. Kirill Semenovich, with his typical sense of humor, said:

"Pavel Fedorovich, take Ivan Grigoryevich along and restore order; call me to help if you fail."

Beria asked for pen and paper, having decided to write a letter to Malenkov, with whom he used to have friendly relations. He wrote it in Zub's presence, and the latter remembers this message virtually verbatim. The detainee asked to be released and attempted to explain certain facts and whitewash himself.

Continuing to refuse to make a statement, Beria declared a hunger strike and refused food for 11 days. This did not do him much harm, given his health and his build.

At one of the interrogation sessions, Rudenko showed Beria a document and asked:

"Is this your signature?"

Beria looked, looked again, and finally muttered:

"Yes."

After this he started making statements.

When the investigation was finally concluded, Beria had to read all the transcripts from beginning to end and sign every page. He started reading, then gave up:

"I can't!"

Yes, Beria's victims repeatedly retracted the testimony extracted from them by blackmail, threats, and physical force. An admission of guilt by the person under investigation and a denunciation were sufficient to transform a man into "camp dust." In his case, however, the investigation was conducted according to altogether different principles.

Beria started making statements when he was shown a document containing direct evidence against him. Only then, under the effect of evidence, did he become talkative. And even though Beria's followers tried to do much in the course of the investigation to cover up traces and prevent any further exposures of his crimes, which were at the same time theirs, there was no shortage of testimonies from witnesses.

...Vitaliy Ivanovich Zub described how, when strolling through Moscow, he made a special point of going to watch Beria leave in the morning. He used to live in a block at Vosstaniya Square. He drove to the Kremlin along Sadovaya-Kudrinskaya, then turned into Gorkiy Street. In the summer he used to travel in an open car next to the driver, with a bodyguard in the back. He behaved calmly and confidently, afraid of nothing. Maybe because he was convinced that everyone feared him. Hunting people for the sake of his own interests, including the vilest ones, had become his passion.

Did the people alongside Beria in those days [during his detention] have to talk to him? Yes, they did. Including Zub. It was noteworthy that at his trial Beria spoke words which were totally unexpected and from which he could have hardly anticipated any benefit—words of thanks to those who had been in contact with him in those days, especially to Zakharov.

To Beria, who did not know Zub, Ivan Grigoryevich was Zakharov.

Ultimately Beria signed all his statements.

Beria's trial opened 18 December 1953. In addition to him, Beria's closest "associates"—L. Vlodzimirskiy, S. Goglidze, V. Dekanozov, V. Kobulov, B. Merkulov, and P. Meshik—faced the USSR Supreme Court's Special Tribunal.

The Special Tribunal was headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union I.S. Konev.

The trial was held in camera, and therefore there were no outsiders at it, apart from representatives of the arresting group. R.A. Rudenko (who was appointed USSR general prosecutor 8 August 1953) sat in the hall.

An office was fitted out for the member of the District Military Council beneath the courtroom. An elevated platform was erected in the center. Each of the accused

had a personal observer. The chairman asked the questions, the accused replied. Stalin was not mentioned at the trial, and therefore Beria spoke of "the authority" [instantsiya] when referring to his instructions.

On several occasions Beria lost his composure and started claiming that he was totally innocent, that he had only performed the demands of "the authority." But he was calm enough when he listened to sentence being passed. He had had 6 months to realize what had happened and what form the atonement for his sins would take. Actually, it is too humane to speak of atonement in this context. Beria's personality is one of those which caused immeasurably more harm than any one man could atone for.

Ivan Grigoryevich Zub did not witness Beria's behavior in front of the firing squad. I asked Ivan Grigoryevich: Surely it had been described to him?

"I was told, but I don't recall the details. Generally speaking, a person's memoirs should speak only of what he has personally witnessed, of what he was personally involved in. This cannot be forgotten or distorted. Even though two eyewitnesses could describe the same episode differently. This is because their attention focuses on different things, and everyone's memory is selective in its own fashion."

Both during the investigation and after the trial, Maj Gen Zub (the five members of the group which arrested Beria had been given their regular promotions in August) received quite a few anonymous threats in letters and over the telephone. According to the testimony of the new documentary movie "Marshal Konev's Story" [Povest o Marshale Koneve], Ivan Stepanovich Konev was also subjected to similar psychological pressure.

...Vitaliy Ivanovich Zub remembers Beria's speech at Stalin's funeral. And the funeral itself, which was relayed live on the radio while the ship's crew stood to attention on the top deck. Beria was the second to speak. He read his speech resolutely. Something that particularly stood out was an unusual expression which he forcefully uttered twice: "Whoever is not blind will see..."

Evidently it appealed to Beria with its external absoluteness, its disarming sharpness. But it also contained a profound inner meaning which Beria could not grasp in his self-confidence: Yes, whoever is not blind will see everything.... People see everything, even though they may keep silent. And nobody has yet succeeded in deceiving his own contemporaries, let alone history itself.

## Briefs

### TV Antenna in North

The highest television antenna in the north has been erected in the village of (?Kalmagorskiy), Astrakhan Oblast [as heard]. The villages of the polar Mezenskiy

Rayon have been provided with the opportunity of seeing television broadcasts from the capital via the Moskva space communications system. Besides the antenna a special building will be erected in which very powerful television transmitters will be installed, and then the villages of the remote rayon will begin to receive color television broadcasts from the capital on two channels. [Text] [LD240653 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Mar 88]

## Economic

**Reform, Supply System 'Contradictions' Emerging**  
PM231551 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by Ye. Leontyeva, Economics and Propaganda Desk editor, under the rubric: "Restructuring of the Economy: Reform of Supply": "How Are Things, Middleman?"—boldface as published]

[Text] Today, at the second stage of the radical economic reform, contradictions between the economically accountable activity of enterprises and the almost unchanged supply system are emerging increasingly clearly. This year 60 percent of the national economy's product will be manufactured by enterprises which have transferred to self-financing. According to plans, however, that amount of output will be switched to wholesale trade only in 1990-1992! You must agree that this is food for thought. After all, in principle the former cannot exist without the latter.

Shortages...Even now, 2 years after the watershed party congress, this word terrifies the leader of any industrial enterprise you take. As soon as you start talking to him about his greatest worry, what comes to the fore is not technical development, not output quality, and not even harsh normatives for payments into the budget, but supply problems. They all say the same: Give me the opportunity to obtain the resources I need in the quantities I need, and I will solve all other questions much more calmly and consistently.

Has such an opportunity emerged? The idea of endowing enterprises with full rights and raising their level of responsibility has a most profound meaning. Let them become each other's partners, and let them solve all basic problems between themselves. But to do so "between themselves" is far from simple. A plant may have hundreds of suppliers and thousands of consumers. Consequently, it cannot manage without a middleman. This role was previously played by those "on top," where items were shared out and allocated. Now it is played by the grass roots supply enterprise, which has been proclaimed independent and must unfold the huge panoply of trade. The idea is good, but there is something that still prevents the basic supply link from engaging in commercial activity and marching in step with its consumers. What is it?

It is an open secret that even the best intentions can easily be undermined by a cleverly drafted document, order, or instruction, backed, as a rule, by someone's stubborn unwillingness to let go of the reins of power. This is already happening to enterprises' right to independent planning, even though it is guaranteed by law. It is easy to see that the same "virus" has infected the right to freely acquire material and technical resources.

Let us start with the simplest of arithmetical problems. This year the country's main supply organ has set the Moscow City Soviet's Main Supply Administration the task of earning R10 million of profit. Last year the main administration earned R9 million. How is the extra R1 million to be made?

"Come what may, we must 'throw out' resources from our warehouses. We must force them on the consumer even though he may not need them in such bulk and such quantity," V. Devyatayev, deputy chief of the main administration, expressed his viewpoint.

This is how what seems to be the simple and perfectly clear right to freely acquire resources can be transformed into its exact opposite. The alternative to "If I want to, I'll take it; if I don't, I won't" is "Take whatever you're given, whatever the quantity." The obliging commercial middleman turns into a harsh dictator who never has the time to investigate someone's specific needs. He has to make his million. But this is not all. The words "throw out" cover an equally important problem. Where did industrial enterprises get their above-norm stocks running into billions? The stocks got there through the supply organs, which, worried about their own prosperity, shoved them into consumers' warehouses.

This is what used to happen back then, before the reform—someone may remark on reading these lines. But V. Devyatayev sees exactly the same "prospects" now. He, by the way, is certainly not a conservative or some sort of retrograde individual. On the contrary, he is a progressive person. His main administration is special.

For over 7 years Muscovites worked differently from their provincial "colleagues"—they conducted an experiment which has already been favorably reviewed in the press. Its essence was simple: When summing up plan fulfillment results, suppliers were allowed to include payments due in respect of output ordered by but not yet delivered to consumers. At first glance this might appear to be just a slight adjustment, but it produced abundant fruit. Moscow's supply organizations ceased pressuring consumers to fulfill **their own** plans, while consumers were enabled to take material resources from warehouses and bases literally as they were needed. This, as a matter of fact, is the essence of wholesale trade. It emerged that consumers are actually in no hurry to fully convert their funds into commodities. During the 7 years of the experiment, output worth more than R120 million was not taken from Moscow's warehouses. This included

more than 400,000 tonnes of rolled ferrous metal products, which are greatly in demand. And all because suppliers did not even think of shifting their "surplus" stock. A curious metamorphosis, don't you think: The notorious shortages turning into surplus.

During approximately the same period other USSR Gossnab organizations not participating in the experiment shifted into consumers' warehouses surplus resources worth R21 billion. And all because they were aiming to fulfill **their own** rising gross indicators. It appears that the kernel of a powerful shoot of wholesale trade lies in this "don't force it on them." Does it also appear that shortages were and are still created not only by the customary procedure of centralized allocation of resources but also by the methods used by supply organizations in their trading activity?

These methods did not develop by themselves; they were and are even now being dictated from above. This is why suppliers worship quantity indicators. True enough, some are already abandoning them. Following publication of the material "Letters From the Gossnab" by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA (28, 29, 30, and 31 October 1987), the draft plan for the transition of supply organizations to economic accountability was reviewed and less emphasis was placed on gross indicators. But the USSR Gossnab is sticking to profit planning with enviable stubbornness. This fact alone indicates that it is still striving to retain the former methods of influencing its periphery, where the fate of wholesale trade is being decided. For that same reason it has opted for a stage-by-stage transition to wholesale trade "via gradual achievement of balance as production expands and shortages are eliminated."

As we can see, the question has been turned upside down. It is not wholesale trade, in other words normal commercial relations, that will help us eliminate shortages, and we will start trading only after we have—by some mysterious method—eliminated shortages.

Leaving the USSR Gossnab's claims aside, let us ask ourselves: Why plan profits altogether? Because industry does so? But a supply organization is highly specific, physical deals are its business: Ordered—bought—sold. Any dependence on rigorous plan means rigorous timetables for taking output. But consumers do not need rigorous timetables, they need free trading relations. How can a middleman rely on a rigorous plan when the volume of orders is a constantly changing quantity? It may differ from month to month and even from day to day.

It would be far more useful for the state to give grass roots supply organizations not ostensible but real independence. Let them deal directly with consumers and let them display initiative. A supply enterprise today has no idea how many thousands of times its services will be required, but tomorrow it will learn to respond sensitively to demand. Provided, of course, its prosperity



depends on its portfolio of orders and services and not on profit plan fulfillment. Actually on orders, on quality in implementing the contractual relations which we loudly proclaim to be the main criterion for assessment but disregard in reality.

Someone might ask: If profits are not planned, may they not decline? They may, because supply organizations will finally be rid of the thankless task of obtaining output on more advantageous terms and getting it off their hands as quickly as possible. It might even be a good thing if profits declined—this would mean savings in wholesale trade. As for the supplier's prosperity, once his hands have been untied he will be able to pay attention to the quality of services to consumers and the expansion of the range of services, and thus accumulate his own capital—and this must be encouraged. (The following fact shows that this was difficult to achieve under the old conditions: Approximately 95 percent of supply organizations' profits originate from output sale volumes, with services coming a poor second.)

Generally speaking, the experience of Moscow's suppliers would be quite suitable for the transition to wholesale trade. But here is what happened to them.

"Last year we continued to supply 'on demand,'" I. Trofimov, deputy chief of the "Mosgortsvetmetnabst" Administration, said. "Our work was helped by the fact that economically accountable enterprises became thrifter, and we ourselves tried to effect savings. Nonferrous metals worth R1.5 million were not taken during the year. But our joy was shortlived, because our own thrift caused us trouble: Our profit was R26,000 short."

No, nobody will become thrifty in these conditions, according to K. Loginov, deputy general director of the "Mosgormetallosnabst" Association. It was 12 years ago that he asked: Trust us, give our association all the metal that is distributed in Moscow by the numerous departmental organizations. Give it to us even without the usual annual increases—we assure you, nobody will go without, there will even be savings. But people at the departmental headquarters did not even wish to listen to him.

Time is short. The economic nature of wholesale trade must be revealed as swiftly as possible, and it must adopt as its banner the purchaser's free choice rather than the Gosnab's directive. To achieve this, it is necessary to remove from the commercial activity of supply organizations everything that promotes a quantitative idea of the fulfillment and overfulfillment of **their own** plan. At the same time, it is necessary to remove all other forms of administrative pressure. Loginov, Trofimov, and Devyatayev are unanimous that the burden of regulations and petty tutelage from above is excessive and inordinate. It is simply impossible to find your way through the reams of paperwork emanating from the USSR Gosnab.

It is not surprising that wholesale trade is bringing up the rear of the radical reform.

"These methods must be abandoned once and for all," K. Loginov said. "There is only one solution—give us an opportunity to get on with our work without interference. I think we will manage without the desk chiefs sitting on top of us."

This, I think, says it all.

## Agricultural

### Farmers Congress Continues in Moscow

#### Day One Activities

PM241407 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
24 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Work of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members"]

[Text] At 1000 on 23 March the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. The congress was opened by Twice Hero of Socialist Labor N.N. Golovatskiy, chairman of the "40th Anniversary October" Kolkhoz in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast's Panfilovskiy Rayon.

The delegates unanimously elected the congress' leading organs—the presidium, secretariat, and editorial and credentials commissions.

The following agenda for the congress was ratified:

On the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of kolkhozes under the new conditions of economic management and the democratization of management.

On the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR and changes to the kolkhoz model statutes.

The election of the Union Council of Kolkhozes.

The morning session of the congress was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, who was warmly welcomed by those present. His speech was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated by applause.

A report on the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of kolkhozes under the new conditions of economic management and the democratization of management, and on the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR and changes to the kolkhoz model statutes was delivered by Twice Hero of Socialist Labor I.I. Kukhar, chairman of the Union Council of Kolkhozes and of the Vladimir Ilich Kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast's Leninskiy Rayon.

The debate on the report began at the evening session. The speakers were: Hero of Socialist Labor V.A. Starodubtsev, chairman of the All-Russian Council of Kolkhozes and of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Tula Oblast's Novomoskovskiy Rayon; V.A. Gontar, chairman of the "Shlyakh do Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz in Cherkassy Oblast's Chernobayevskiy Rayon; A.P. Pobedinskiy, chairman of the "Novaya Zhizn" Kolkhoz in Tselinograd Oblast's Atbasarskiy Rayon; G.F. Skakun, milking machine operator at the Zhdanov Kolkhoz in Brest Oblast's Brestskiy Rayon; G.A. Tutubalin, chairman of the "Izhevskiy" Kolkhoz in Kirov Oblast's Pizhanskiy Rayon; Hero of Socialist Labor L.M. Barinov, lathe operator at the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant; and D. Naraliyev, chairman of the N. Baymuradov Kolkhoz in Surkhan-Darya Oblast's Dzharkurganskiy Rayon.

The report of the credentials commission was delivered by its chairman Yu.A. Brazhnikov, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz in Krasnoyarsk Kray's Karatuzskiy Rayon.

The congress of kolkhoz members continues 24 March.

#### **PRAVDA Lists Attendees**

PM241209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Yesterday In the Kremlin"]

[Excerpts] The Kremlin Palace of Congress, 1000 hours. The delegates and guests of the Fourth All-Union Kolkhoz Workers' Congress greeted with applause Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solov'ev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.P. Biryukova, A.I. Lukyanov, and V.A. Medvedev. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, was given the floor.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech was heard with great attention and was frequently accompanied with prolonged applause.

Twice Hero of Socialist Labor I.I. Kukhar, chairman of the Union Kolkhoz Council and chairman of the Vladimir Ilich Kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast's Leninskiy Rayon, delivered a report on the acceleration of kolkhoz socioeconomic development under the new conditions of economic activity, democratization of management, the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR, and changes in the kolkhoz's model rules.

A debate then began.

The congress is continuing its work.

#### **Council Chairman Speaks**

LD231218 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] [No dateline as received]—"Collective farms account for 50 per cent of a total grain output, 90 per cent of sugar beet, some 66 per cent of cotton, some 75 per cent of sunflower seeds, 39 per cent of milk and 27 per cent of meat. Their role in ensuring food supply to the population is rather great, which imposes special responsibility on us all", Ivan Kukhar, chairman of the All-Union Collective Farm Council (a consultative body rallying representatives of the country's best collective farms) pointed out in his speech at the congress.

He said that collective farms had today quite enough machinery, energy and skilled specialists. Wages of collective farmers doubled in the past two decades. By a number of indices collective farms show a better performance than state farms. For instance, average grain yield at collective farms is 4 centners per hectare greater than that at state farms.

According to Ivan Kukhar, starting from the next year there will be no state subsidies for collective farms. A practice of non-repayable crediting will be discontinued. "A practice of total dependence on the state will no longer be supported, especially in view of the fact that a new mechanism of economic management opens up before collective farms broad opportunities for initiative", he said.

On behalf of the All-Union Council of Collective Farms Kukhar supported the draft Law on Cooperation and expressed the wish that some of its articles should be given a finishing touch. He substantiated provisions of the draft model statute of collective farms submitted for the consideration of the congress.

#### **Gorbachev Addresses Congress**

PM241606 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition pp 1-3

["Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members on 23 March 1988" under the headline "Cooperatives' Potential—To the Cause of Restructuring", delivered at Kremlin Palace of Congresses]

[Text] I.

Dear Comrades! Allow me, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium, and the USSR Council of ministers, to warmly and cordially greet you, the delegates and guests of the Fourth all-Union Congress of Collective Farmers. (applause)

Gathered in this hall today are representatives of all generations of the soviet peasantry. We welcome in your presence, comrades, all rural toilers of our great Motherland. The country's achievements and victories are inseparable from the life of the Soviet countryside. The motherland highly appreciates your noble work, your deeds for the benefit of the people.

The attention of our entire society is, undoubtedly, riveted on the work of the congress. That is understandable, for most important issues in the life of the country are going to be tackled: cooperatives, collective farms, and the entire agrarian sector of our economy constituting one of the fundamental foundations of the socialist society. Naturally, the issue of restructuring, will also be tackled and we are all aware of its nationwide significance.

At present, as the revolutionary transformations have involved all aspects of life and activities, the problems and difficulties of this crucial stage in the development of the Soviet society loom large in front of us. They call for a profound theoretical analysis and reflection, for working out a policy that would be in keeping with the present times, and, naturally, the corresponding practical activities to implement it.

This is what we are doing. The 27th party congress, the Central Committee plenums, the celebration of the 70th anniversary of October—all these are steps in learning about and developing restructuring. One of the most important tasks of this congress consists in providing a real enhancement of our understanding of the potential of socialism, and using it for improving the lives of people and developing their capabilities.

We have behind us 3 years of sustained work linked with a search for new things, with leaving behind many received ideas, and with large-scale experiments and social discoveries. We are now beginning to understand restructuring more and more as a dynamically developing, contradictory process, in which objective and subjective factors and phenomena interact. Moreover, its role is constantly growing as the reforms encompass ever broader strata of the working people of our country.

Herein lies, if you wish, the dialectics of restructuring, and it obliges us more and more to increase and bring into operation the human energy of renewal, to preserve the businesslike mood, not to give up in the face of difficulties, not to lose confidence or courage of spirit. Then everything will get going, everything will turn out as we and you have conceived it. Restructuring is called upon to become a real moving force in the development of society toward a new qualitative state, a force which releases to the maximum human vigor and initiative. Everything that we are doing today opens up scope for every person, for bringing out all of his talents, gifts, and abilities, for creative inventiveness and enterprise. The time of restructuring is a time when every person can

take a worthy place in society and express himself in all spheres of his life and work. That is why we are entitled to assess the time of restructuring as an unusual time.

Restructuring will form and establish the shape of our society for many decades to come, and will make it the way it will appear in the eyes of our children and grandchildren, not only at the end of the 20th but also at the beginning of the 21st century. Restructuring is a process of radical social transformations such that the destiny of man lies in his own hands, and it is precisely we ourselves who will directly determine what this future will be, how our destiny will take shape. What have we managed to do, how is the course of the party being implemented, as elaborated by the party Central Committee's April plenum and the CPSU 27th Congress? How has the country and the life of people changed? A detailed analysis of the course of restructuring will be presented by the party Central Committee to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. But even now it can be said: We have not been working in vain for 3 years. I have to say that there turned out to be more difficulties than we imagined at the beginning of the road. Too many problems had accumulated, and for too long they had lain without being addressed.

To use the language of the peasantry: our field grew quite thick with weeds, with the thistles of bureaucracy and thriftlessness, social apathy and irresponsibility. You won't get away with just one weeding session here. What is needed is a thorough return to health of our socialist field for the growth of the healthy seeds that restructuring is planting.

Our current difficulties are connected with the fact that we have to resolve a mass of accumulated ongoing problems of everyday life, and at the same time, on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the situation conduct a search for the most effective ways for a decisive improvement of affairs in the long term. That is how we are acting.

A turn toward the accelerated development of the material base in the social sphere has begun, concrete decisions have been adopted on the restructuring of education and health. We have commenced the resolution of the most pressing and vital problems: those of housing, food and providing the population with goods and services. Concurrently with this a system of interrelated measures of a strategic nature aimed at the qualitative renewal of all aspects of the life of our society has been elaborated and is being consistently implemented. Work has started in priority areas of scientific and technical progress. Profound structural changes in the national economy are being implemented and a radical economic reform is being introduced—our main lever for the implementation of large-scale transformations.

The party has set a firm course toward the comprehensive democratization of public and political life, considering this to be the central task of restructuring and the decisive condition for the renewal of socialism.

In general, comrades, now we have not only a program of profound, qualitative transformations in all spheres of public life, but also have begun to implement them on a broad front.

With the entering into force of the Law on State Enterprises, the life of labor collectives was activated. As we expected, quite a few problems and difficulties are arising in the course of its implementation. But what is notable is that the working people themselves are taking part in surmounting them. With increasing confidence, workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia are taking possession of their rights and are showing the concern of people in charge of their affairs about production and social matters. This inspires confidence and optimism.

We have still to continue to master new principles of running the economy.

They have become the basis of such an important document as the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR. In essence, comrades, the implementation of its ideas will mean a qualitatively new stage in the development not only of the cooperative movement but also of Soviet society as a whole. It goes without saying that attaining the goals of perestroika will require plenty of time and effort. But it is already inherently justified, today, to draw the conclusion that the party and people have managed to essentially break the pre-crisis trends in society and succeeded in directing it onto a path of profound revolutionary changes. This is the main political result of the last 3 years.

In drawing this conclusion we are not deluding ourselves regarding the difficulties facing us: the contradictory nature of the perestroika process and the opposition accompanying it. We are not trying to present the desirable as the actual. If I were to try to describe the present situation in our society, I would point without any hesitation to the prevailing attitude among the working people and the entire population of the country to carrying out the restructuring process steadfastly and consistently, not retreating in the face of difficulties, carrying it out in a revolutionary manner. (applause)

Here precisely lies the answer to the most important question of our lives: Will we be able to master the great task upon which we have embarked? The last 3 years allow us to answer: Yes, we shall be able. There is a guarantee of this in the people's support and in the strengthening cohesion of working people around the aims and tasks of perestroika.

Recently, we have often referred to our history, to its heroic and tragic pages. Among the most important historical lessons, there is the main one: All our successes and all the most outstanding victories were achieved when room was made for the social creativity of the people. Conversely, the greatest misfortunes befell us when the vital interests of the people were ignored and

the social initiative of millions was buried in the procrustean bed of administrative directions and surrounded with a palisade of bureaucratic instructions and regulations.

The core of the fundamental innovations of perestroika—be it the deepening of socialist democracy, the switching of the economy to a system of financial autonomy, or the development of cooperative principles—lies above all in the comprehensive emancipation of human activity, in raising creativity and craftsmanship, and involving every citizen in running the affairs of society. This is the target of the policies of the party and its organizational activities, of all the decisions adopted by it, and all the legislative acts of perestroika. This is also the aim of the draft Law on the Cooperative System, which you are to discuss at your congress.

## II.

Comrades, this generation of Soviet people has been confronted with extremely responsible and very complicated tasks. The more we delve into their essence, the greater the scale of restructuring becomes, the more imperative the need to gain and in-depth understanding of the experience of all the generations involved in the building of socialism—not for the sake of repeating well-known truths but to become proficient in Marxist-Leninist methodology and the dialectics of revolutionary renewal and to apply them creatively to solve present-day tasks.

The more we delve into their essence as well, the more acutely is the requirement felt to read Lenin again and in a new way, to penetrate into the depth of his views on the ways of creating a new society. This is just how we are acting when we return to one of Lenin's most brilliant discoveries, his teaching on socialist cooperatives. Lenin's tenets on the socialist nature of the cooperative movement after the victory of the socialist revolution were the result of much cogitation and a profound analysis of the experience of the first post-revolutionary years. In his famous article about cooperatives, Vladimir Ilich Lenin thoroughly demonstrated that under conditions in which state power is in the hands of the working people, in which the socialist state owns the land and the basic means of production, in which it guides the activities of the cooperatives, under such conditions, the growth of the cooperatives is identified with the growth of socialism. This is Lenin's fundamental conclusion.

Another of Lenin's profound ideas is that under socialism, cooperative principles of economic organization open up an effective way to combine the interests of all those taking part in social production; they are a successful form of combining financially autonomous productive activity with self-management by the people. For



this very reason, he insistently required the close cooperation of state and cooperative enterprises, their joint participation in the solution of production and social problems, in the transformation the whole way of life of the country.

Pointing to the wealth of forms of cooperative activity, Lenin called for the fullest possible drawing into the cooperative movement of the country's working population, on a strictly voluntary basis. For Lenin, it was indisputable that precisely democratism and a financial-autonomy basis of the cooperative organization of production and its independence and flexibility, open up broad scope for the display of the creative capabilities and initiatives of people. You see, comrades, this is exactly what we so much need today, when we are solving the tasks of the cardinal transformation of society. Already at the initial stage of its implementation, Lenin's teaching on cooperatives bore considerable fruit.

The successes of the cooperative movement were organically intertwined with the implementation of the basic principles of the New Economic Policy; they strengthened the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. However, Lenin's innovative ideas on cooperatives were subsequently drastically impoverished. The whole richness of them was reduced to a cooperative plan, in accordance with which the cooperatives would be able to exist mainly in the countryside, and furthermore in virtually only one single form, in the form of agricultural artels. In this, the collective farms were allocated the role of junior partners in the state sector. I have already had occasion to speak of the crude distortions of Lenin's teachings on the cooperative movement which were perpetrated during the introduction of collectivization at the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties.

Arbitrariness toward cooperatives was also allowed to take place in subsequent years, when small-scale industrial cooperatives were groundlessly liquidated, when collective farms were turned into state farms by administrative methods, when other types of cooperative activities were banned or curtailed. Moreover, the cooperative movement was, as it were, brought within the ambit of the state sector: voluntariness, self-management, financial autonomy and other principles of the activities of collective farms and the cooperative movement as whole were, as many of you know from your own experience, crudely violated.

All this is perceptibly making itself felt to this very day, engendering a passive attitude toward affairs of society, affecting not merely economic, but also political and ideological aspects of the development of socialism.

All the same, comrades, when talking of our past, one can say with full justification that the cooperative movement, even though its path was a thorny one, has made quite a contribution to the strengthening and making of the country. The cooperative movement has deep roots in our country. The socialist revolution, which opened

up extensive opportunities for the creativity of the masses, gave it a new momentum. This pertained to all the spheres and directions of the socialist construction, be it industry, or various trades, or commerce, or the restructuring of the peasantry's way of life, or the establishment of economic ties between towns and the countryside.

As is known, the cooperative movement flourished in the twenties. On the basis of a consistent utilization of Leninist ideas, embodied within the decisions of party congresses and conferences, there took place a rapid development of numerous forms of production and trade, supply and sales, finances and credit, in consumer services and other areas.

The party and the Soviet state extended to the cooperative movement constant organizational, political, and financial aid, pursuing a flexible financial and tax policy, adopting the measures necessary to strengthen the democratic principles, to expand the economic and social base of the cooperative movement.

All this did, at first, yield good results and facilitated an acceleration of the social and economic transformations. It is precisely the cooperative movement that considerably helped overcome the hunger and ruin following the Civil War, facilitated the improvement of the financial and monetary system and the process whereby the working man was acquiring a feeling that he was in charge of production and of the country and the process of enhancing the activeness of the people in the construction of a new life.

Approximately a third of peasant farms was involved in various forms of agricultural cooperation by the end of the twenties. Dozens of types of cooperatives, created from below, and unions and associations of them which supplied the market with various agricultural output, produced the simplest machines and equipment and construction materials, extracted ores and smelted metal, repaired machinery and household goods, made clothes and footwear and, in a word, did what society needed so much, appeared in the country.

The role cooperatives played at that time in supplying the population must also be given its due.

According to cooperative statistics from those years, marketing of up to 50-70 percent of basic consumer goods produced by state industry was carried out through the consumer cooperative system. They conducted trade not only in rural areas, but also in cities. In the mid-twenties, cooperatives procured approximately 35 percent of grain and flax, around 40 percent of wool, 80 percent of cotton, and 90 percent of sugarbeet. No lesser role was played by the cooperative system in supplying peasants with machinery, agricultural implements, and seeds.

Unfortunately, this did not last long. In conditions of unequal exchange between the state sector and the cooperatives, a growth in methods of management by injunction and narrowing of the democratic bases of the life of society, the very idea of the cooperative system started to be violated. Its role was minimized and the diversity of its forms was lost. A cooperative system based on self-recouping and self-management could not exist without financial autonomy and broad democracy. It began to fold up, ever narrowing the sphere of its activity.

Kolkhozes have also suffered no lack of complex turning-points in history and difficulties—even dramatic moments—causing damage to the agrarian sector. These include repeated amalgamation and splitting of farms, mass transformation of kolkhozes into sovkhozes, at times placing untrained people to manage them. The many arbitrary campaigns had serious repercussions for the economy of the kolkhozes. Great damage was done by the mania for large-scale production, by all possible kinds of reorganization, and limits and bans with regard to subsidiary farms and development of small industries.

The consequences of such an attitude to kolkhozes and the cooperative system as a whole are well known and are still felt by us now. The delayed solution of the food problem, shortages, and the limited range of many consumer goods and shortcomings in the sphere of services must be attributed to them. They also include unused labor reserves and loss of material resources, and finally, a serious weakening of some of the most important social factors of development.

Today we must admit, comrades, that such a line regarding the cooperative system turned out to be erroneous. By departing from Leninist principles of the cooperative movement the country and its economy suffered considerable losses both on the political and moral and social levels. It was stressed at the 27th party congress that we had not exhausted the possibilities of the cooperative system by a long way. The congress favored full clarity in this matter. Our further analysis showed that the cooperative system can and should play an important role in the life of contemporary society. The cooperative system must be renewed in all its diversity—renewed, it goes without saying, taking into account the new conditions and new demands.

We have to recreate cooperatives not in their old, often very simple forms, but cooperatives that are modern, of a high standard, widely integrated both within themselves and with state enterprises and organizations. We need cooperatives that are highly effective, technically well-equipped, and capable of producing output and services of the highest quality and competing with domestic and foreign enterprises. What are we guided by in opening up now the current broad scope before the cooperative movement? Our aims are clear and comprehensible: to satisfy the needs of Soviet people better, search out supplementary material resources, intensify

the incentives for raising the entire economy, and not least agricultural production, the processing of the output it creates, and the living conditions of those in rural areas.

Instilling a feeling of being in charge, initiative, and enterprise, the cooperatives are capable of rendering substantial help in the resolution of the food provision problem, in increasing the output of quality consumer goods, in widening the services sphere, and in improving the conditions of the labor, life, and leisure of Soviet people. You know, comrades, how quickly demand for consumer goods and services is changing today, and how essential is the constant renewal of their range. This requires of the producers a flexible reaction, an individual approach, and better consideration for local conditions. These are just the features possessed by the cooperatives.

The broad application to cooperative forms has great significance for the optimal combination of large, medium, and small enterprises. Everyone knows the difficulties with the placing in large-scale industry of orders for a limited series of goods and for many types of equipment and instruments. Managers know well the difficulties connected with securing a contract for small-scale design, construction, and repair jobs. The torments of rationalizers have already become commonplace in introducing their proposals, as have the problems of artistic and decorative work, scientific and technical consultations, and so on. These sort of jobs are sometimes disadvantageous for large enterprises. As a result, the efficiency of production declines and time and resources are lost. Small cooperative organizations, capable of sensibly supplementing large-scale public-sector production, will be able to take on a great deal. Another aspect is also of considerable importance: the resolution of social questions. In organizing diversified production, designed for various levels of qualification, cooperative activity enables the employment of all strata of the population to be enhanced, including in small towns, settlements, and rural areas. The work of the cooperatives increases the incomes of families and supplements the resources of local budgets for the development of the social infrastructure.

Finally, cooperatives are capable of involving in production and services people whose labor for various reasons cannot be used in state enterprises and organizations. This primarily comprises pensioners, invalids, women engaged in household work, and young people who are studying. Today we need the cooperatives in all of the diversity of their forms. This includes the creation of new cooperatives in all spheres of production and services; the regeneration and deepening of the democratic and cooperative principles of collective farms and the organizations of consumers' cooperatives; and the development of cooperatives at the level of primary labor collectives of collective farms and state enterprises.

It also concerns contractual relations between enterprises. On the basis of such a diversified cooperative sector, the practical implementation of the rich content of social property will become possible.

In general, comrades, there are quite a few areas where what is of prime importance is not so much the scale of an enterprise but its ability to quickly reorganize, to flexibly react to changing demand, to fully use local conditions and also the individual skill and enterprise of staff. By placing the task of the widespread development of the cooperative sector on to a practical tack, we are thus responding to all those who react toward the course set by the party for the promotion of the cooperative movement with distrust or even with a struggle. To those who grew nervous and fussed, asserting that the cooperative sector was allegedly not a socialist form of economic management but a return to private entrepreneurial activity—I can tell these comrades that there is nothing new about such doubts and assertions. It is precisely with such arguments that cooperatives were once suppressed, and with fair measure of success.

No, the cooperative sector, being a mass social movement of working people in a society rid of exploitation and class antagonism, is by its nature fully in line with the tasks of socialism and with its labor and collectivist aims. From this emerge those new opportunities that open up in the cause of accelerating the social and economic development of the country.

Restructuring has aroused public interest in the cooperative sector and moreover creates the necessary prerequisites for a qualitatively new stage of the cooperative movement and its widespread penetration into various spheres of economic and social life.

Above all, restructuring has created and is continuing to create a favorable social climate, and is unfettering the initiative and creativity of millions of people, and this is of fundamental importance, because cooperatives cannot be planted from on high; only initiative and creativity from below are capable of producing not a pallid, formal cooperative, but one which is alive and full-blooded and [only initiative and creative are capable] of ensuring it is of a genuinely mass nature.

The development of the cooperative movement is on the one hand a real result of the democratization of society, one of its diverse forms, and, on the other hand, a lever of quite some importance for the deepening of the democratic process as a whole in the struggle against administration by injunction and bureaucracy.

Really, comrades, glasnost, the elective system, open accountability, and the participation of working people in the administration of production are the things without which a cooperative is simply impossible. It is only by being a self-administered organization that it can in fact become an effective form of economic management.

There is a direct, organic link between the development of the cooperative movement and the radical economic reform.

The new economic mechanism fixed in the law on state enterprises, has truly put a golden key into the hands of cooperatives for the organization of their activity. Today, in fact, the necessary conditions are being created for equal exchange and effective cooperation between state and cooperative enterprises.

When examining the prospects of development of the cooperative movement, we also take into account today's experience. In 1 year alone, almost 14,000 cooperatives in the sphere of consumer goods production and reprocessing of secondary materials, in trade, public catering, and services to the population were set up and began operating. More than 150,000 people are now engaged in cooperative activities in our country. Many of them, many of the new cooperatives are working effectively, are beginning to win popularity among the population.

The range of goods made by cooperatives is rapidly broadening. Demand is growing for the consumer services and repair and construction services offered by them. In recent time forms of cooperatives have also started being utilized in the structure of state enterprises, mainly in low yield and loss-making sectors. It must now be said that the result is impressive. Due to the liquidation of a thriftlessness attitude, a reduction in the number of workers, a rational organization of labor, and utilization of valuable material, profitability is increasing fairly quickly. However, cooperatives on the whole are only just gaining strength; their production represents a small share of the volume of production, and the marketing of goods and services. Cooperatives attached to large industrial enterprises are being set up very slowly and in general unwillingly.

Furthermore, the cooperative movement is developing extremely unevenly in various regions of the country. Moscow Oblast is seriously engaged in the organization and development of various forms of cooperation. Trade, medical, supply and marketing cooperatives, cooperative collectives organizing leisure activities and other have started working. Today, in the Moscow area 1,137 cooperatives—this is 27 cooperatives on average per rayon—are already operating.

The process of introducing cooperatives is active in the Baltic republics, in the Krasnodar, Stavropol Kray, in the Saratov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and some other oblasts. There are also other examples: In the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan the volume of consumer services provided by cooperatives per capita is almost 20 times less than that in Estonia, for example. The number of cooperatives producing consumer goods in Arkhangelsk, Tambov, Tula Oblasts, and a number of other places can literally be counted on one's fingers.

Here, not only have normal conditions for cooperatives' activity not been created, but, on the contrary, often various obstacles are created, and unlawful bars and restrictions are introduced.

The population is insufficiently and often one-sidedly informed about their work. Eyes must not be closed to some negative moments that objectively hinder the development of cooperatives, and undermine the trust toward them. Sometimes, self-seekers or simply swindlers worm themselves into this sphere and their speculative aims discredit the very idea of cooperatives. It is true that cooperatives use the fact that there are not many of them and increase their incomes by inflating prices—and this evokes justified discontent on the part of the working people. Of course, where it is necessary, the law must be used. But problems cannot be solved by administrative measures alone.

The main path is: to increase the number of cooperatives and inspire healthy competition in which state enterprises must also actively join. This will reflect positively in its turn both on the market of goods and services and on the price level. It must be admitted that the poor state of drafting of the legislation seriously hinders the development of cooperatives. The existing uncoordinated normative acts regulating the cooperatives movement often contradict each other. Furthermore, many of them not only do not assist in the support of cooperatives but even slow down their growth.

Taking that into account, it has been deemed necessary to create a new unified all-union legislative act, the USSR Law on Cooperatives, which will sharply expand the field and scope of the cooperative movement. The purpose of this law is to secure the strengthening and development of the cooperative and collective farm property, to create a protective legal mechanism of the cooperative democracy, to form economic, organizational, and legal foundations of activities of all varieties of cooperative enterprises and organizations, to make their rights and duties, interaction with state and economic bodies subject to regulations.

The draft law, approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has been put forward for nationwide discussion. Acquainting yourselves with it, you could see for yourselves that it is an innovative document, a document of restructuring making it possible to achieve resolute headway regarding the entire economic practice, to infuse a fresh spirit into the social development of our society.

Assessing that document from all sides, one should say that the draft law is designed to combine, as it were, the Leninist ideas on cooperatives with the modern times, to bring it in organic correspondence with the concept of restructuring, with the experience of the profound transformations that have been gaining momentum in our society. It is closely linked with the tenets of the Law on

State Enterprise and other normative acts of the economic reform and along with them seriously expands the legal base of the functioning of the present-day economic mechanism. In a number of issues, the draft law brings new, radical improvements to that mechanism, which is bound to tell on the entire economic life.

The recognition of the cooperative sector as an equitable constituent of the unified national economy complex of the country is the basis—one might say, the core—of the new document. The foundation-laying Leninist principle of cooperatives is thus being restored. In accordance with that the field of activities of the cooperatives becomes expanded, and the unnecessary restrictions that have existed so far are being removed.

The right to enter cooperatives is being offered to all citizens of the country. All social conditions envisaged for workers and employees will apply to their members. It is also important that the principles of financial autonomy and self-management are being developed further in the cooperative activities. That applies to planning, price setting, management of resources, and remuneration of labor alike. I would also like to stress that a number of new principal provisions are being added, which are of immediate bearing on the collective farms. It seems well-grounded to completely remove the restrictions on their subsidiary activities. From now on, the collective farms may rent out part of the land and the assets assigned to them to both other enterprises and individual citizens, to set up various rural cooperatives, and to engage in foreign economic activities.

At the same time, the possibility of doing away with poorly working cooperatives is also being envisaged, as well as stripping them of the right to use the land.

One must also note that improvement of cooperative forms also takes place in many socialist countries. There are quite a few things in their experience that are interesting and deserve attention. I believe we should study that experience attentively, expand the mutually beneficial cooperation, and make active use of everything useful.

Comrades, speaking of cooperatives, I would like to stress—one would like to stress—that the development of the cooperative movement is a direct extension of the party's strategic line directed at expanding democracy, making our national economy healthier, and comprises an organic part of the economic and social transformations that are being carried out in the country.

Of course, in the cooperative movement, as in any new matter, we can expect not a few difficulties and complex problems. I do not doubt that we shall overcome them if we tackle things energetically and persistently. It is now important to achieve a turning point in public opinion and among all cadres, toward the new form of management. One must resolutely break obsolete stereotypes of



thought and action and alter the attitude to the cooperative movement which looks on it as something secondary and of little importance. Cooperation, like any other form of management, must not lie outside the sphere of state influence. For this, there are reliable economic instruments—the imposition of taxes, credit policy, the system of contracts with cooperatives, and action affecting their activities through orders placed by the state.

Of course, the legislation already in force fully extends to the cooperative movement, whether it is a matter of labor protection, safety equipment, social security, or the protection of the environment. The problem of strict compliance with the law is exceptionally urgent now. Without this, neither the democratic process, nor economic reform, will advance. It must be frankly admitted that for many managers at various ranks a cavalier attitude to the rights of the labor collective is ingrained, so to speak. They have become used to acting on the following principle: "I want it, and I'll run things the way I want", without shouldering moral—let alone material—responsibility for the negative consequences of their decisions.

Recently many instances have come to light of breaches of the law, only just come into effect, on the state enterprise. In this connection, the Central Committee Politburo has strictly warned the heads of ministries and departments of the impermissibility of such actions. The observance of legality in the economy, as in other fields of social life, is an essential requirement of restructuring. The actions of all state and economic bodies and public organizations, and leaders of all ranks, must be implemented solely within the framework of the law. As for the cooperative movement, comrades, administration by mere injunction is alien to its very nature. A dictatorial attitude, work-orders that are imposed, and thoughtless bans can only stifle and overorganize activity, and in the final reckoning compromise it or even kill it off. Relations between the state and the cooperatives on the basis of the Law on Cooperatives will be implemented mainly through the local soviets of people's deputies.

As is known, taxes from the cooperatives and their members will be put into local budgets, adding to their resources, with the aims of speeding up the economic and social development of that region. An incentive thereby arises for local soviets to support cooperatives and at the same time, it creates an economic lever to influence their work. It is essential to more boldly develop close and mutually beneficial economic relations between state enterprises and cooperatives, and not excluded here is the emergence of mixed state-cooperative or cooperative-state formations.

Of course these relations will only be efficient under the consistent observance of equality and competition among the partners. Of course the boundaries of cooperatives are not infinite. In considering cooperatives' property as having equal rights as that of the state, we at the same time confirm in full measure the leading role of

state national property. This emerges from its very nature and from the place it really occupies in the country's economy. Of course we cannot count on the fact that with the adoption of the law a broad development of the cooperatives will take off on its own, spontaneously breaking down all obstacles. Needed here is the enormous attention of party and local soviet bodies, their assistance and support, for never before has the task for the development of the cooperative movement been laid down on such a broad scale and in such a rich diversity. This is why, comrades, the demand—More trust in the cooperative, more help for it—should become the party approach to this sector. We must irrevocably put the cooperative into the arsenal of mighty resources for socialist construction.

In our society it should occupy that worthy place that rightfully belongs to it. (applause)

### III.

Comrades, we should pay special attention to the development of the cooperative in the countryside, where the main part of enterprises and organizations of the country's cooperative sector is functioning today. The potential of the cooperative and the needs for it are especially great here, and not only at collective farms, but also at state farms, and moreover in all spheres, in production, technical servicing, the supplies sector, marketing, and processing of output and in services to the population. This is dictated both by specific features of agricultural production, its territorial dispersal, and by the whole way of life in the countryside. Not only is there a greater need for the development of cooperatives here today, but there are also broader opportunities for it, especially taking into account that new economic relations are being established—financial autonomy and contracting as forms of organizing production. Collective farms, having a mighty production and economic and cadre potential, play a great role in supplying the country with foodstuffs and raw material.

They account for almost half of the gross product of the socialized sector of agriculture. It is beyond doubt that the use by the collective farms of the new rights envisaged in the draft Law on cooperatives will give a powerful impetus to their development and will significantly expand their field of activities.

Along with the output of farming and livestock produce, it is now possible to widely engage in their processing, to manufacture various consumer goods, to trade, and to offer services to enterprises and citizens. This will assist the collective farms in using land and other resources more efficiently, in raising incomes and in wage levels, and, above all, in strengthening the country's economy and in enriching the sources of the improved welfare of the entire Soviet people.

We pin our special hopes on the fact that cooperation will create favorable conditions for accelerating the resolution of such a pressing and priority task as a cardinal improvement in the country's provision with food. The major measures for developing the agrarian sector and the associated industries, for improving their management, which were undertaken in recent years, have made it possible to achieve progress in the output of agricultural produce and its processing. That has been reflected in improved supplies for the population.

Speaking at the Central Committee February Plenum, I quoted some data. Now I would like to update them. The gross agricultural product has grown in the country as a whole by 9 percent over the 2 years. The increase in grain yield in this 5-year plan in comparison with the preceding one comprised the average of 30 million tonnes per annum; and the increase in meat production, 2.1 million tonnes; of milk, 8.2 million tonnes.

The food industry has been stepping up the marketing of its products. As a result, last year the per capita consumption of bread products comprised 131 kg, of meat—63 kg, of dairy products—343 kg, of eggs—270, and of sugar—46 kg. There are improvements in the supplies of other foodstuffs as well.

Therefore, the level of provision of people with basic foodstuffs is on the rise. Steps in the positive direction have been made indeed, and that is gratifying to us. They are, however, comrades, still insufficient. That applies above all to livestock produce, fruits, and vegetables. In the remaining 3 years of the 5-year plan, it is necessary to achieve the annual increment of 2.5 million tonnes on the attained level of meat production, we must increase the vegetable yields by more than 20 percent, and almost double that of fruits.

We are to increase the output of milk and other agricultural products. The grain problem remains partially unresolved. Even in the regions where grain is produced for marketing, many farms and rayons and even whole oblasts consume more grain than they sell to the state.

This is why there is no end to the stream of requests from the provinces for allocations of grain forage from state resources. Of course, all the necessary moral and material resources must be used to ensure that grain is used rationally, but without an increase in grain production it is impossible to solve the task of making the country self-sufficient in feed and reducing imports. Let us assimilate the simple truth that grain should be grown and not obtained through begging.

By the end of the 5-year period the growth of the grain harvest is to be increased by 1 and a 1/2 times at the very least. That pace must definitely be maintained to reach a new high level of 260-280 million tonnes per year in the next 5-year period. As you can understand it is not only gross grain output that we need today, but, first and

foremost, a growth in the harvest of valuable types of grain—firm, strong wheat, millet, and buckwheat—as well as of high-protein food and feed crops.

Naturally, the main burden of this work falls on those farms situated in the commodity grain production zones. But at the same time the entire system of organizational, economic, and technical measures must be thoroughly worked out, resources must be concentrated, and people's interest must be secured.

As far as livestock produce is concerned, the conditions have now been created for drawing on additional resources of meat, milk, and other produce to provide local supplies. Many oblasts, krais, and republics have increased milk and meat production in such a way that they are coping successfully with deliveries to centralized stocks and at the same time perceptibly improving supplies to the inhabitants of their regions. But the old parasitic approach is still very tenacious. There are those who continue to pin their hopes on assistance from the center and show little concern for continuously increasing their own resources.

This is why letters are still being sent today to the Central Committee and to the government complaining about a shortage of livestock produce supplies in many of the country's regions, particularly in small towns. For instance, livestock breeding in Moldavia is lagging seriously behind. Last year there was even a fall in meat production there, and that has naturally had an effect on meat consumption in the republic. In Krasnoyarsk Kray, Voroshilovgrad, Irkutsk and Odessa Oblasts, the Central Asian Republics, and the Buryat ASSR, consumption of livestock produce is growing faster than its production. This means someone has to feed them.

Let's call things by their proper names: This reflects like a mirror the level of leadership and organizational activity in the regions, the slow restructuring of all their work, and a gulf between words and deeds. It is now vitally essential for us, above all, to master the new production and economic relations. We are today giving broad range to cooperative societies and this unquestionably signifies a new stage in the development of agrarian relations in our country.

Taking as our foundation the fundamental tenets of the Law on Cooperatives, we have to dismantle all artificially erected barriers, disclose the potential of collective and state farms, and really guarantee the rights of the peasantry to genuine economic work. To make effective use of the potential of cooperatives, and of the new methods of economic management, it is necessary first and foremost to ensure that enterprises and organizations in rural areas transfer to full financial autonomy and self-financing. As you know, we have also tried to get to this before, on more than one occasion, but tackled things in a piecemeal fashion solving one problem in isolation from another, and the whole process gradually faded out.

On the basis of the widescale experiments that have been conducted recently, and making use of the experience accumulated, over 60 percent of all farms have switched to the new methods of economic management since the start of this year. These include all collective and state farms and other enterprises and organizations of the agroindustrial complex of the Russian federation, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and a number of oblasts in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia. Next year, this work is to be completed everywhere.

We are accomplishing a profound turnabout which is designed to regenerate and augment the best features characteristic of the peasant from the earliest times, to genuinely assert the independence of collective and state farms, and to enhance their financial interest in and responsibility for final results.

All this work should be conducted in coordination with the free choice of various forms of cooperative activity and the widespread practice of financially-autonomous contracting. Analysis of the development of contracting testifies to its multifaceted socioeconomic effectiveness and its spiritual and moral value. Contracting demonstrates the face of the new economic mechanism, based upon financial autonomy and self-management; it acts as an incentive to people's production initiative and social activity; and puts an end to wage levelling.

New forms of organization of labor and of incentives enable us to more rapidly augment our food resources. For it is a fact, comrades, that in many team-, small group-, and family-contracting collectives operating on a rental basis, labor productivity doubles and triples within a year or 2, and output of produce increases sharply.

I have spoken about the work of the Kozhukhev brothers from Novosibirsk oblast on more than one occasion. Each of the three members of their intensive-labor team section produced 620 tonnes in 1985, 880 tonnes in 1986, and 1,042 tonnes of grain in 1987. Furthermore, every year they increased the grain crop yield by 5 quintals per hectare, bringing it up to almost 33 quintals. More than 800 such collectives followed their example in Siberia last year. They cultivated about 1 million hectares of arable land, and their production output per worker was almost four times the average for collective and state farms in the area. Four times, comrades! Is there any need for comment here?

I must say that contractual forms produce swift results and good returns in all republics and all regions, regardless of their specific natural conditions. By way of an example, I will mention the Zhdanov Kolkhoz in Minsk Oblast's Kletskiy Rayon. Collective contracts were introduced for all teams on this collective farm in 1983.

I must say that in all the republics and in all regions, regardless of their specific natural conditions, contract forms produce rapid returns and substantial improvements. As an example, let me cite the "Zhdanov" Kolkhoz in Minsk Oblast's Kletskiy Rayon. The collective contract was introduced in 1983 in all the teams on this kolkhoz. In the last 5 years the yield of grain crops, potatoes, and feed root crops has doubled here. In 1987 it reached 44 quintals per hectare for grain, 269 quintals for potatoes, and 580 quintals for feed root crops. Labor productivity increased by 52 percent in that time. Profitability has increased from 2 to 44 percent. Some R1.5 million in profit has been obtained. All these results were achieved in a short space of time.

Another example from Uzbekistan is the "Kirov" Kolkhoz in Shurchinskiy Rayon, Surkhan-Darya Oblast. The team of cotton growers headed by Gukhta Eshimov, working on the principles of economic accountability and the team contract, last year obtained from each of its 76 hectares 44 quintals instead of the planned 34. The value of the gross output produced by the team totaled R976,000.

Or take the "Kapsukas" Kolkhoz in Kapsukskiy Rayon in Lithuania. For a number of years the collective contract and economic accountability have been in use in all the farm's subunits. Here seven machine operators grow grain crops on an area of 855 hectares. That is 122 hectares of plowland per machine operator. In 1987 these machine operators obtained an average of 51.2 quintals of grain, which is 12.2 quintals above the 1986 level. At the same time a reduction in prime cost was achieved. The farm regularly obtains an average of at least R1.4 million net income a year.

One more example. On the "Lenin" Kolkhoz in Belovodskiy Rayon, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Anna Ivanovna Pelekh's family of three concluded a contract for the care of 64 cows. The livestock is kept in adapted premises and the breed composition of the herd is the same as at the other livestock units. In 1987 the family produced 3,968 kg of milk per cow, while the average for the kolkhoz was 2,421 kg. But the interesting thing is that the leaders of the Ukrainian Agro-Industrial Committee claim that growth reserves in the republic have been exhausted and scraped to the bottom. No, they are far from exhausted! Create the conditions for people—and they themselves will find out where and how you can do more! (applause)

Compare, comrades: In A.I. Pelekh's unit R20,500 of gross output was produced per worker, while on the farm as a whole the figure was R13,900. The average monthly wage of a member of the family collective was R262, while for the kolkhoz as a whole it was R184. Incidentally, given such yields the level of wages is entirely justified. Yet there are cases of people being paid R600 a month for yields of 2,200-2,500 kg. In A.I. Pelekh's family collective the growth in labor productivity outstrips the increase in wages. Here all the indicators are, so to speak, plain to see—and they are good indicators!

It is very important that the contract, especially the family contract and the rental contract, has swept through the oblasts of the non-Chernozem. Last year, at the Central Committee June plenum, I cited data on the experience of assimilating the rental contract on farms in Pskov Oblast's Pytalovskiy Rayon.

In the local conditions—which are characteristic of many oblasts in this zone, with their gently contoured land, small populations, empty spaces, and lack of roads—the family and small group rental contract has proved capable of ensuring a substantial increase in output and labor productivity. In this rayon, which has 12 farms, 5 have already gone over to these forms of labor organization. Work is in progress on other farms too.

At the Central Committee plenum the name of party member Anatoliy Anatolyevich Volochenskiy was mentioned—he is a machine operator on the "Artemovskiy" Sovkhoz who took 20 steers to fatten and a written-off tractor and combine, which he restored. He was allocated 40 hectares of land. Despite the rainy fall, he procured 70 tonnes of good hay, grew 10 tonnes of grain, and out of feed he produced, that is, his own feed, he is ensuring a daily weight gain in the steers of 800 grams each, or twice the average for the sovkhoz. Moreover he sold the state some 3 tonnes of milk from his own cow. I do not think his family goes without milk, butter, and cheese, either. A.A. Volochenskiy is helped in his work by his wife—the sovkhoz bookkeeper, his 15-year-old son—a schoolboy who has become a qualified tractor operator, and his 12-year-old daughter. Speaking of the motives for going over to rental conditions, A.A. Volochenskiy considers the main factor to be the opportunity freely and autonomously to tackle every matter and to operate according to the conditions that arise, with nobody harassing you, giving orders, or goading you. That is the whole answer, comrades. Notice it was not a question of benefits, of wages, but of a person at last realizing his potential as a grain grower.

On the "Rodina" Kolkhoz in the same rayon, V.N. Vredov and B.T. Buksh, two machine operators, set up rental units of six and five people respectively. In the same weather conditions and on the same land, they harvested 24 and 28 quintals of grain per hectare respectively, while on the rest of the area of the kolkhoz, with the traditional way of organizing operations, only 14 quintals was harvested. In the rental units, R23,000 of output per person was produced in a year, or 5 times more than the average for the farm. On the same kolkhoz movie operator V.I. Maksimov and his wife took 5 cows into their yard and are preparing premises for 10. They are already obtaining daily milk yields of 12 kg per cow, while the kolkhoz livestock units obtain 5 kg. In Pskov Oblast as a whole 150 rental contract collectives and more than 600 family contract collectives have already been set up.

As I have already said, however, the work is not going ahead in a simple manner or smoothly. Far from all specialists actually want to take part in the work of contract collectives and it is simply no use asking some of them—the members of the collective consider—since they are not sufficiently competent or conscientious.

However, it is not only this which is slowing down the development of the rental and family contract. Many look enviously on the Maksimovs because of their high production results and consequent earnings. All sorts of pretexts are invented to close down this initiative. The sanitary inspector doctor for the rayon, for instance, asserts that such a farm would allegedly pollute the countryside. This is how the mentality of some workers has changed and become deformed, comrades—apparently the exercise of rural labor pollutes the countryside! On this basis, one could even go as far as to say that kolkhozes and sovkhozes pollute the country by going about their business. (laughter, applause) You know, this kind of reasoning goes beyond the boundaries of common sense. Or firemen, for example, believing that such farms "do not conform" to fire safety requirements. (laughter) It is amazing, comrades. All this gives us a real idea of the way many of our economic managers think.

In a word, support is needed to this great cause of exceptional importance. All the same, the examples cited by me and others which are similar reflect the widescale movement in favor of clearing away the residue of many years which turned public property into no one's [property] and impoverished the democratic principles of labor activities. The fact that people have now started coming back to the countryside also bears witness to the profound consequences of the new forms of running the economy to the enormous size of the reserves inherent in the development of the cooperative movement. They move into the houses which have been previously abandoned, make themselves at home there, and bring back life to the unused land.

What conclusions do I draw from it, comrades? The new progressive forms and methods of organizing and stimulating labor should be looked at from the long-term viewpoint, and the issues posed by the practice of contracting should be more boldly be resolved.

Yes, our kolkhoz' and sovkhoz' remain the basis of socialist agricultural production. And here, we are not going to give in to the appeals—of a very dubious nature and above all, groundless—that the fate of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz should be examined. If we are to examine the fate of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz, then it should be with a view to comprehensively bringing out their potential. Such is our view. That is the view of the Central Committee and of the government. (applause) We must bring out the potential inherent in these forms of economic management. This should be implemented, by using the potentialities of cooperatives. We are moving toward the kolkhoz and sovkhoz in the near future



essentially becoming cooperatives, associations of financially autonomous contract collectives acting on the basis of concluding contracts with the kolkhoz management or the sovkhoz directors, and having at their disposal land, fixed and working capital, using the most modern technological systems, and scientifically based techniques of running the farms.

In general, we have to admit that the historically shaped internal structure of kolkhozes and sovkhozes does not correspond with present management conditions. It does not fall within the framework of consistent cooperation, and what is most important, it does not remove the lack of personal responsibility in the utilization of land and other funds and also in leveling in labor remuneration.

All these vices, to a considerable extent, are being overcome in conditions of lease contracting and small group contract forms of production organizations. The creation of new forms of production organization evokes the necessity for changes to the structure of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz. In fact they have become, as I have already said, cooperatives of independent primary labor collectives. Such a possibility is provided by the Law on Cooperatives. Every primary labor collective is given total independence and is guided by the principle of financial autonomy interests. It can even have its own account in an agrobank branch.

Models of such kolkhozes and sovkhozes have already been created and are beginning to function. We can refer to the example of Krutishinskiy Sovkhoz in Cherepanovskiy Rayon of Novosibirsk Oblast. At this farm with almost 12,000 hectares of agricultural land, including almost 10,000 hectares of arable land at its disposal, 33 primary cooperatives have been established, with 21 of them engaged in production and 12 in services. Moreover, every cooperative is numerically small—some three to five people. Four such cooperative links are engaged in growing grain, four in fodder production and six in milk production.

There is a cooperative breeding animals for their fur. After the transition to such a system, the number of workers was reduced by almost a quarter and 74 people were released from agricultural production. Of those, 39 went over to construction and 35 to an industrial cooperative working according to agreements with the Berdsk radio works. Under the old structure, the sovkhoz management apparatus employed 47 persons, now there are only 7 left. Such collectives are able to independently adopt all decisions, as stipulated in the contract, to sell production according to fixed prices, with means that have been earned to satisfy their production and social needs. Life gives birth to various forms of collective and family contracting, each of them reflects one or another branch or regional peculiarities, the level of development achieved by a specific farm, or even simply local peculiarities and traditions. Contracting by its nature is a democratic phenomenon which does not tolerate arbitrariness and routine. It is not possible for the sake of

competition to introduce the same forms everywhere following a fashion. In fact if a kolkhoz or sovkhoz has established definite forms of organization of labor—team, link, financial autonomy collectives—which have justified themselves and yield high profits, why break them up and artificially implant something else?

The same has to be said about specific forms of labor remuneration, and the distribution and marketing of output. There is only one framework: the Law on Cooperatives and the kolkhoz charter. Restructuring has in practice brought about a variety of forms of interfarm cooperation, and many forms nontraditional for us have been born. In the past priority development was given to cooperation between enterprises solely within agriculture, and as a rule only along the horizontal plane. Cooperatives which embrace the whole cycle of production, processing, and marketing of production, technological servicing and scientific provision are coming to the fore—that is unified efforts are in progress, both on the horizontal and vertical planes.

Formerly, these principles were clearly underestimated or were simply ignored. Many interfarm enterprises built using the resources of kolkhoz and sovkhoz broke away from their founders and stood apart. Well, rest in peace, kolkhoztroy! Thus the very idea of cooperatives was distorted and even discredited. The participation of the kolkhoz, the sovkhoz, and other enterprises in agro-industrial formations creates an opportunity for the better and more expedient utilization of the achievements of science and makes it possible to reduce to the minimum losses and costs and to raise the interest of people in more successfully resolving social issues.

This is affirmed by the work experience of agrocombines like "Kuban" in Krasnodar Kray, Ramenskiy in Moscow Oblast, of agrofirms like "Adazhi" in the Latvian SSR, and of agro-industrial associations like "Novomoskovskoye" in Tula Oblast.

For example, the "Novomoskovskoye" Association is made up of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and of processing, construction, transportation, and other enterprises and organizations which have joined it on a cooperative basis. The Lenin Kolkhoz became the head farm and its chairman, V.A. Starodubtsev, became chairman of the board of the association.

In just 1 year, throughout the farms of the association milk production rose by 11 percent and meat by 9 percent. The average annual milk yield from each cow increased by 224 kg and reached 3,742 kg. Some 38.2 quintals per hectare of grain crops were threshed which exceeds the average annual yield achieved in the 11th 5-Year Plan by over a tonne.

But that is not all. Here production costs were reduced; losses were reduced; the quality of production rose; labor productivity increased; and the peoples' interest and activity were increased.

The administrative apparatus of the association was reduced by 518 people, or by 40 percent. Interdepartmental barriers and lack of coordination disappeared. The Rayon Agro-Industrial Association [RAPO] apparatus which formerly stood above the kolkhoz and sovkhoz has become a working body of the association itself. That is what has to be done.

But what we have is that both rayon and oblast organizations and many republican bodies continue to cling to the RAPOS to exert pressure, issue commands, and to continue to give directions about when and what to do in agriculture—when to sow, when to plow, etc. In no way is there restructuring; no way. That is where, so to speak, the critical path of restructuring lies. (applause)

It is a good thing that positive experience is appearing in other regions of our country. Take Chita Oblast's Karymskiy Rayon for example. A single association has been created on the base of six kolkhozes, one sovkhoz, a forestry concern, a dairy plant and construction, transportation, and other organizations including consumer cooperative organizations and an agrobank. It includes in all more than 300 primary labor collectives working on the principle of contractual and financial autonomy and on having their own accounts in a department of the agrobank. This is a cooperative of cooperatives, built on the basis of state and cooperative property. In the activities of these and similar groupings in the countryside we see another very important phenomenon. The association is managed by a council headed by one of the farms' most authoritative leaders. The management staff is small in number and is fully accountable to the council. This is very important to overcome the administrative urge and bureaucratism of the apparatus, to create conditions for creative work by farms and by their internal financially autonomous and contractual organizations. In agriculture, this is more necessary than ever before. This is, after all, a vital issue linked with nature with the land, and with many particular features. Can we put up with such a bureaucratic system of management of this most important sector of the country's economy any longer? However, I would like to say more kind words to support the work of the Tula's workers. Using the experience of Novomoskovskoye association they decided to implement this idea on an oblast level. Here cooperative associations at the oblast level are under formation. They will encompass sectoral cooperative unions and associations engaged in the production, processing, and marketing of meat, milk, vegetables, fruit, and sugar. They will also provide material and technical services, and house and road building. Thus the reformed structure of the agro-industrial complex is thought of as unified multilevel cooperative, beginning with the family, small group link, team, leasing, contracting collective through the kolkhoz and sovkhoz as a cooperative of primary cooperatives through the rayon association, agrofirma or agrocuminate, and going on to the oblast agro-industrial associations. So let us wish the people of Tula success. In my view they are on the right road.

I still want to warn comrades against an oversimplified approach to the restructuring of the country's economic mechanism and structure of the agro-industrial complex. I think that we—although we have set about this work in a fundamental manner and although we have got things underway on a broad front—nonetheless, we are not going to propose here the slogan, "Step up the pace!"

It is an extremely important matter, a responsible matter affecting the structure of agro-industrial production, the interests of millions of rural workers, and of the whole country. Therefore, a high sense of responsibility and a high level of competence is needed here. I would also say that caution would be no bad thing. One must not allow stereotyped approaches here or hastiness as has happened in the past.

True, this does not mean that we should tolerate those who try to apply the brakes by saying how complicated the new business is. The main precondition here, comrades, is people's desire and will to join in cooperatives.

The information coming in gives evidence of a vast and universal desire by rural workers to establish contracting collectives. This is a powerful distinguishing feature of the present situation. I would put it this way: Both the objective and subjective preconditions for going over everywhere to the new methods of economic management in the country have achieved fruition. We have reached such a conclusion at the Politburo. We think that this is correct. Are you in agreement with this or not, comrades? That the people are now in favor of this approach. (applause)

I think this is the correct political and practical conclusion and we must proceed from this conclusion in our practical work, strictly guided by Leninist principles of the socialist cooperative system.

Comrades, the further development of cooperative system in the countryside in no way diminishes the importance of the population's private subsidiary plots. We value their present contribution to increasing food resources: But it could be more weighty. The distortions existing here have led to many peasants cutting down on their subsidiary plots. Now, even on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, one family in three has no livestock in its yard; more than half of the families keeps no cow and does not keep pigs. The whole burden of providing for their needs falls upon the state and upon kolkhoz resources. It is absolutely necessary, comrades, to create conditions which will make it easier to keep a private plot; to help people cultivate kitchen gardens and breed livestock and poultry, to allocate hayfields and pastures, and help to sell produce. There is now understanding of the necessity for such an approach.

Quite a lot of experience in establishing cooperatives and integrating the private plots of the population with public-sector production has been accumulated in the

Baltic republics, Belorussia, and a number of oblasts in the Russian Federations, and other areas of the country. Rural dwellers embrace this with enthusiasm.

In many places, people have for centuries been skillfully cultivating fruits, berries, onions, cucumbers, green vegetables, and other crops. In Ternopol Oblast, for instance, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have started supplying the population with seedlings, plastic sheeting, fertilizer and packing; providing transportation; and have set up workshops to process the output. Here is the result: Last year, private plots in the Kemenetskiy and Zaleshchitskiy Rayons of the oblast grew and sold to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and consumer cooperatives 2,100 tonnes of strawberries—that is, more than the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of all of the Ukraine. Furthermore, they sold to procurement organizations a considerable quantity of tomatoes and other produce. This was advantageous to both sides: The kolkhozes and sovkhozes received over R8 million in profit, and the additional income for people amounted to between R2,000 and R4,000 per family over the season.

Only a short time has elapsed since we extensively began developing collective gardening and horticulture. The working people received the decision on this matter with great approval. Literally, within 2 or 3 years, previously waste land has been turned into cultivated and kitchen gardens, with cozy buildings where the family can work productively and enjoy a good rest. Since various prohibitions relating to garden plots were fully abolished last September, they have increased by more than 400,000 in number, and in the last 2 years by a total of 1 million per year.

The work that has begun must be continued consistently. It is not only of great economic importance, but also of social and educational importance. Comrades, a broad cooperative movement will make it possible to substantially increase the efficiency, not only of agriculture, but also of other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. We are exerting great efforts to improve processing, storage, and sale of produce, but as yet there have been no radical changes. They remain the weak links in the food cycle. Restructuring is proceeding slowly and painfully here. Losses of produce, especially of potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk are huge. A cut in those losses could mean a substantial addition to food supplies. It is here that our main reserve now lies. First and foremost, all branches of the processing industry must be technologically reequipped and modernized. The program recently ratified envisages the allocation of R77 billion for these purposes in the next 8 years, by the end of the year 1995. The high-capacity production and scientific and technical potential of both civil machine-building and of the defense branches of industry are now involved in this work.

We reckon that the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, ministries, and local soviets will work persistently on the fulfillment of this program. Another direction is the wide utilization of cooperative methods in

creating comparatively small factories and enterprises to process produce, and for deliveries to consumers directly by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, enterprises, and organizations of consumer cooperatives themselves. The experience of hundreds of farms in many republics, krais, and oblasts which have organized processing of vegetables, fruit, berries, and other produce shows this is a reliable path leading to an increase in food resources. This progressive direction in conditions of financial autonomy and cooperative forms must be widely developed. Our machinebuilders must help by accelerating the creation of the necessary mechanisms and equipment.

Comrades, in expanding large-scale work to develop the cooperative movement in the countryside and to improve the functioning of the whole agro-industrial complex, we proceed from the assumption that the implementation of these measures will ensure a better utilization of the potential created within it. For many years now, labor productivity in agriculture has been slow to increase. Costs are not being reduced. Return on capital is falling. Some specialists and leading officials of farms and departments, and a number of scientists too, see this as almost a natural state of affairs. The way they see it is that in time the amount of investment will turn into quality and will give a sharp jolt to output. Such soothing arguments clearly are not well-founded. They cost our society too much. The funds created can and must give a weighty return today.

In putting things like this, comrades, we in no way want to say here that all the requirements of kolkhozes and sovkhozes for machinery, machines, and mechanisms have already been satisfied. Far from it, far from it. We are well aware of this, and on that score decisions have been made, and these decisions are being put into effect. However, it must be said, comrades, as soon as the farms move over to financial autonomy or a small collective moves over to contracting, their requirements for machinery are reduced by at least one-third, and sometimes by one-half. The comrades from the "Kuban" agricultural combine can confirm this. Over 2 years the purchases of agricultural equipment fell by approximately one-third there. Why? Because the new mechanism gives immediate cause for thoughts as to how to use all resources economically. So it is not only a matter of needing more machinery. Today it is the problem of utilizing the potential already created in the countryside which has come to the forefront.

How do we see the ways of resolving this problem? As is known, the Politburo has decided to submit the entire set of questions of present-day agrarian policy for discussion by one of the next Central Committee plenums. We are carrying out the work associated with it. An analysis shows that its main areas lie within the channel of the present-day ideology of economic reforms.

First, we must implement everywhere an irrevocable changeover of all links of the agro-industrial complex to financial autonomy, self-recouping, and self-financing,

and to economic methods of management. We must learn to count resources correctly and to use them rationally. All kinds of incomes must be solely earned ones. The main levers in this area are contracting and cooperation.

Indepth cooperation and integration must be implemented throughout the entire cycle, from the field to the counter.

Second, it is necessary to restructure priority areas of state investments in the agro-industrial complex. At the present stage no longer production itself, but production and social infrastructure must increasingly become the leading target of expenditure. In many countries a course has been steered for several decades toward "investing in eliminating losses." It is believed there that it is economically more advantageous to spend money on increasing end-product resources. Priority in expenditure must go to roads and transport, storehouses and packaging, processing and trading, and rationalization of consumption. Investment in constructing housing, amenities in the social and cultural sphere, in developing the system of education and raising of qualifications are without risk of loss. Renewal of the style of life in the countryside is connected with an expansion of the services meeting villagers' needs.

You all know how much effort someone living in the countryside has to expend on obtaining building materials, building or repairing his home, mending the fence, making and bringing in fodder or fuel, plowing and tilling the kitchen garden. Much household equipment has now appeared in the countryside, but there is virtually no one to repair it. There are very limited possibilities to mend footwear, sew clothing. Elderly people and disabled people have an especially difficult time. These are no trifles, comrades!

What we have here is a major state matter. Some 100 million people are now living in the countryside. People have money. Wages, as a rule, are decent. People can and are prepared to pay for services, but frequently there is no one and nowhere to pay. As regards the organizational forms of developing services, they can be most varied. Such services must be set up first of all by kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations in the countryside themselves. It is here that various cooperative societies for public and consumer services for the population can show their sense of enterprise. The sphere of action for them is immense here, the more so as the transfer to contracting in production is releasing people who can be involved in this sphere.

An urgent need has arisen to resolve many other questions of a social order, in particular of pension provision for kolkhoz farmers. In previous years, as you know, a few steps were taken to bring the level of pensions of kolkhoz farmers closer to that of workers and employees.

But substantial differences still remain. Drafting of a new pension law is now underway, in which a just solution to this problem, too, has been taken into account.

I would especially like to draw your attention to the problems of the transformation of the RSFSR non-Chernozem Zone, this vast region which is of immense political, economic and cultural importance to the country's life.

In the past few years, as you know, quite a lot of efforts has been made to regenerate the life of the villages of the non-Chernozem Zone. As a result, certain positive shifts have become apparent.

The material and technical basis of the agro-industrial complex has been strengthened. The building of more housing, medical facilities, children's establishments, and cultural and consumer projects has begun. There has been a stabilization in production of agricultural goods. Plans for procurement of grain and animal husbandry produce have started to be fulfilled, but a radical breakthrough has not yet come about.

In February this year the Central Committee Politburo made a detailed analysis of the progress of fulfilling the decisions previously made to develop the non-Chernozem Zone. Central and republican ministries and departments and local organs were criticized for being slow to solve rural production and social problems in their areas.

The Central Committee and government instructed the appropriate ministries and departments and scientific institutions to work out a comprehensive program for the socioeconomic development of the non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Federation for 1988-95. Special significance is being attributed here to building more roads there. In the coming 8 years up to 170-200,000 km of motor vehicle roads, both for general and internal farm use, will be built or reconstructed there. The problems of the Russian non-Chernozem Zone, comrades, are worrisome to all Soviet people, not only because it is the heart of the Russian land; it must not be forgotten that the people living there in the most difficult years shared like brothers everything possible with other parts of the country and made an enormous contribution to the economic and cultural establishment of many of our republics.

Comrades, we must also assess the prospects for the development of consumer cooperation from new standpoints. A fairly large economic potential has been created here. Consumer cooperatives have become an inalienable part of the single national economic complex, an important link of the economic ties between town and country. Currently it unites about 60 million country dwellers, and serves over 40 percent of the country's population. Its share of the country's retail trade turnover is now over one quarter, almost half state



procurements of potatoes, one-third of vegetable procurements and breadbaking. This large potential is operating at far from full strength, however. In the work of Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives] and its organization there has essentially been a loss of such important cooperative principles as self-management, initiative, and enterprise. The cooperative movement has, in essence, become bureaucratized. This must be said honestly and openly.

In the majority of rayons rural consumer societies have been scrapped. The members of those societies have virtually no influence at all on the activity of their organizations. The contribution by the consumers cooperative system to the solution of the countryside's socioeconomic tasks and the good program is far below its potential. For example, to sell produce to cooperatives, people must themselves get to the procurement points, the network of which is extremely insufficient. What a paradox this is in general: rural cooperatives, which came about by the very social creativity of rural residents, have broken away from them. Cooperative workers feel themselves to be almost like landlords in the countryside. They want people to be around them and pander to them all the time. This is outrageous! It should all be the reverse! It should all be turned upside down! (applause)

Rural workers are those who are in charge of the rural consumers' cooperatives. They are the ones in charge! (applause) Those to day who have forgotten about this and who think only of how to oblige when attending to the bosses, must be got off the back of the consumers' cooperatives. [applause]

This is no accident, comrades. Complaints are being made by the population regarding the great difficulties in marketing what is has grown, regarding refusals to accept produce. In many regions trading in the countryside has been poorly organized and disruptions in the supply to the population—even of prime necessities—are allowed to occur. A radical restructuring of consumer cooperatives' activities is long overdue. Today we must essentially talk of regenerating them on a truly cooperative and democratic basis. The Law on Cooperatives is creating a firm basis in law for this and the freshly created wide opportunities for the development in every possible way of consumers' cooperatives must be utilized.

Comrades, a few words about the tasks of our agricultural science. It is understandable that the administrative system of management was unreceptive to science, underestimated it, and at times simply disregarded it. The situation is radically changing now and any decision by us is unthinkable without scientific substantiation. Production itself, as it becomes more intensive, is becoming increasingly science-intensive and the cooperative movement is assuming ever more varied forms. Side by side without increased needs our possibilities have also increased. The agro-industrial complex today

has a ramified network of scientific institutions. However, agrarian science, in particular agrarian economics, is seriously lagging behind the requirements of practical work. This applies both to theoretical research and to the development of new applications.

Science today is faced with a twin-pronged task of substantially raising the theoretical level of research and of interlocking as closely as possible with production. We are in extreme need of a present-day theory of cooperative movement, and of effective methods of overcoming such flaws as wage-leveling and lack of responsibility vis-a-vis means of production. Such questions as the relationship between public sector and private, between small-scale and large-scale production, questions of intensification, the environment, technology, and economy are awaiting urgent substantiation. The mechanism of interests within the framework of cooperative movement, the problem of eliminating contradictions between economic and social aims, of the humanization and economization of science, and others must be elaborated more vigorously.

In July last year the party Central Committee and the government passed a decree on the development of agrarian science. But the measures laid down in this document are still being implemented slowly.

The resolving of all questions connected with the organization of centers for scientific provision, with a concentration of efforts and resources in priority areas, with the influx of talented young people into science, and with the consistent changeover of scientific institutions to financial autonomy and self-recouping are to be intensified. Everyone in the country must earn money and not simply drive to the bank to get money.

Comrades, your congress will discuss the Draft Law on Cooperative Movement in the USSR and the draft model Kolkhoz Charter. It is very important that the provisions of these documents should reflect the essence of restructuring and work for the development of the cooperative movement in the country.

Many suggestions have been made for improving life within the kolkhoz. I think there will be a considerable number of constructive suggestions here at the congress as well. There will be a detailed discussion of alterations to the charter in the speech by Ivan Ivanovich Kukhar, chairman of the Kolkhoz Union Council. I would merely like to attract your attention to certain issues, above all, with regard to Kolkhoz democracy. By deepening such democracy we are, at the same time, consolidating restructuring overall. One would think that it is from this viewpoint that the further democratization of life within the kolkhoz should be regarded. Why is there a need to mention this? Because as a result of administration by decree and outside interference the very foundations of the kolkhoz' democratic essence have been trampled upon.

As has already been said, the most important thing—the feeling of being in charge, the peasant's concern for the kolkhoz' affairs—has been eroded. Is this not demonstrated by the indifference to assemblies at which kolkhoz affairs are examined and chairmen are elected? In one out of three farms the statutory terms for holding such assemblies are not observed and indeed farm managers forget that they are accountable to the collective and have begun dispensing with the kolkhoz members' views. But that, comrades, is no longer a kolkhoz. Indeed meant here are those managers who have taken this path and think it is they who are doing a favor to the people they lead today; they could end up in a difficult position.

On the contrary, the entire history of the cooperative movement in our country shows that talented leaders have achieved great goals in the development of kolkhozes and in the solution of socioeconomic tasks when they relied on people's initiative. Those who lost touch with the people will hardly now guarantee us an increase in the country's food production. People will respond, give their support, always understand, and even forgive when they see a manager who is committed to his work, who is close to them, and who does his utmost to ensure that the kolkhoz or sovkhoz develops and progresses. (applause) In a word, the organs of management must influence the structure of production and purchases not by administrative means but via the system of economic levers. Therefore, the state order for purchases of the corresponding products will be placed on a contractual basis and in light of the fact that kolkhozes must cooperate even more closely with the consumer's cooperative and the market and expand their direct ties with industrial enterprises. This will correspond to their democratic nature, the principles of the cooperative system, and economic management methods.

Comrades. The Law on Cooperatives and the Kolkhoz Charter should provide a legal basis guaranteeing the independence of the kolkhoz. However, legal acts are only conditions, not the guarantees themselves. After all, it was by no means because of a complete lack of legal documents defending kolkhozes' independence overadministration and inordinate regulation became possible. Such documents existed, but were constantly violated. Life convinces us that it is not enough to have good laws and charters; one has to learn to observe them. That, comrades, is perhaps the most important thing today—not just in the realm of production and kolkhoz democracy, but for the whole country. (applause)

Comrades, in concluding my speech, I would like to once again stress the importance and responsibility of the moment. We have begun on a large-scale restructuring work, work for the all-round development of the cooperative, which is integral to the renewal of socialism. However important, however principled that work is, it is not an end in itself. It is being conducted in the name of the most important thing—in the name of man, in the name of improving the life of the people in all its

material and spiritual dimensions—in conditions of work, food, way of life, leisure, culture, in everything that makes human life full-blooded, joyful, and satisfying.

In democratization and glasnost, in economic reform, in the range of people's creativity, in every lively initiative, we see powerful incentives for uncovering the limitless possibilities of our system, its humanist attitude toward man. Yes, today we are having to evaluate many things anew, to reinterpret many things and to renounce things that hamper an impoverish our life, but this does not repudiate socialism and its ideals and principles, but saves them from corrosion. We know that socialist principles are only attractive in their pure and unsullied form. We do not have the right to forget this and that is why it is so important for us to resolutely overcome red tape and excess administration, social apathy, and the free ride mentality; to remove from the road everything that impedes our movement; to increase human initiative, every innovative idea and every bold solution.

We can and are obliged to revive the Leninist character of socialist society, the most humane and the most just. We will firmly and steadfastly follow the revolutionary principles of restructuring: more glasnost, more democratism, more socialism. In this, comrades, is the enormous strength of that course which the party and the people will pursue with even more energy. (prolonged applause)

### Scientific

**'Progress-35' Cargo Ship Launched 24 Mar**  
LD240249 Moscow TASS in English 0246 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—In accordance with the programme of further work of the research complex "Mir", the automatic cargo ship "Progress-35" was launched in the Soviet Union at zero hours 05 minutes Moscow time on March 24.

The aim of the ship's launch is to deliver consumables and various cargoes on board the manned complex "Mir".

The ship "Progress-35" was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

The maximum distance from the earth's surface—281 km [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0700 GMT on 24 March and Moscow TASS in English at 0703 GMT on 24 March in otherwise identical versions report: "The maximum distance from the earth's surface—280 km"]

The minimum distance from the earth's surface—190 km

The period of revolution—88.9 minutes

Inclination of the orbit—51.6 degrees

According to the data of telemetric information, the on-board systems of the automatic cargo ship are functioning normally.

### Correction to 'Cosmos-1934' Satellite Launching

Moscow TASS in English at 0817 GMT on 24 March 1988 transmits the following "corrected version" to the item headlined "'Cosmos-1934' Satellite Launched 22 Mar" published in the 23 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 81-82:

"Moscow March 24 TASS—The Soviet Union launched an artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1934, next in the series, on March 22, Tuesday. The satellite is designed to continue space exploration. It was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

—initial period of revolution—104.7 minutes

—maximum distance from the earth's surface—1,021 kilometers

—minimum distance from the earth's surface—967 kilometers

—the orbit's inclination—83 degrees.

The equipment installed in the satellite operates normally."

**Space Research Official Views 'Astron' Program**  
LD241022 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Kiev March 23 TASS—TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov writes:

Soviet astronomers today observed once again the supernova that exploded recently in the neighbouring galaxy—the large Magellanic cloud. From the long-range space communication center they conducted an observation of the star in deep space with the aid of an astronomical observatory, Astron, which was put into a near-terrestrial orbit exactly five years ago—on March 23, 1983.

"Astron has been working in orbit five times as long as we have expected", said Petr Petrov, a head of the Crimean Astro-Physical Observatory of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. "Five hundred and eighty five communication sessions were carried out over this time, information was garnered about outer stars and gaseous nebulae".

The scientist said that the space observatory has enabled the astronomers to record fast explosions of stars lasting seconds. An exceptionally high content of heavy metals was detected in some stellar atmospheres, which sheds

new light on the origin of chemical elements. Observation was conducted of the Halley's Comet. The scientists carried out the study of the distribution of the energy of outer stellar systems and the length of gaseous nebulae of our galaxy. They determined the speed of the stellar material outflow at different distances from the surface of large and hot stars.

Propelling the flying observatory to a "high" orbit helped attain these results, which saved the instruments from the influence of the charged particles of the planet's radiation belts and the glow of the corona of the earth.

French scientists from the Marseilles Laboratory of Space Astronomy took part in the development of the programme to observe stars with the aid of Astron.

**Afghan Envoy Presents Space Treaty 'Instrument'**  
LD182039 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT  
18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Mohammadollah Safi, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, deposited with the Soviet Government on March 17, Thursday, an instrument of the ratification by the Republic of Afghanistan of the treaty on principles of the activities of states on the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies.

### Academy of Sciences Holds General Meeting

**Urals Development Discussed**  
PM231439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Special Role of Science: USSR Academy of Sciences Annual General Meeting"]

[Text] Ways to increase the effectiveness of research, enhance the role of science in the conditions of restructuring, and science's tasks in the light of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum's decisions are being discussed by the participants in the USSR Academy of Sciences' annual general meeting. It continued work in Moscow 16 March.

Problems of the establishment of the Academy of Sciences' new Urals affiliate were the theme of the report delivered by Academician G.A. Mesyats, the affiliate's chairman. Much organizational work has been done and the potential of the scientific centers in Sverdlovsk, Ufa, Syktyvkar, and Perm have been amalgamated, he reported. The Urals affiliate of the USSR Academy of Sciences now consists of 38 scientific institutions. This substantial scientific and technical potential will enable it to research the "Ural" program, which is aimed at the development of the Urals region through the year 2000.

Questions of preserving the scientific and cultural legacy are particularly urgent today, Academician D.S. Likhachev noted in his speech. The recent fire at the USSR

Academy of Sciences library in Leningrad, in which tens of thousands of priceless books were destroyed, was a major disaster. Analyzing the situation, the scientist noted that it is aggravated by the fact that many books are still being destroyed. They are threatened by mildew. The most urgent and resolute measures are needed to eliminate the aftermath of this calamity, and to save everything which can still be saved. The fire in the USSR Academy of Sciences library highlighted many questions whose solution will also determine the fate of Pushkin's house, a building which has not undergone capital repair for over 150 years, and other storage facilities.

There is an urgent need to enhance the role of chemistry as a fundamental science, Academician V.I. Goldanskiy stressed. In that connection the speaker raised the question of turning the chemical sciences into an independent section.

The USSR Academy of Sciences' participation in the activity of the Higher Certification Commission was analyzed in the speech by Academician Ye.I. Shemyakin, chairman of the USSR Higher Certification Commission.

From time to time it is necessary to devote general meetings of the Academy of Sciences to a discussion of specific interdisciplinary problems, Academician K.Ya. Kondratyev suggested in his speech. He included the problem of the scientific consideration of the restructuring processes taking place in the country, environmental problems, and questions of space research development among the priority themes in need of collective examination by scientists. The speaker also drew attention to the need to increase the effectiveness of international scientific cooperation.

Academician A.A. Bayev acquainted the general meeting participants with the draft program "The Human Genome," which is expected to have a profound influence on the development of biology, and genetics in particular. This program is of great fundamental scientific significance. The genome is the aggregate of an organism's genes. We know the principles of the organization of the simplest genomes, but we still do not know how the human genome is arranged or how it works. The program will also be of great practical significance for diagnostics and, in the future, for the treatment of hereditary illness. In the speaker's opinion, within the framework of this draft there should also be an examination of the question of the creation of an Institute of Man to act as a center for the generalization of all data on man as a biological and social being.

Speaking about ways to accelerate scientific and technical progress, Academician A.Yu. Ishlinskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies [Soyuz nauchnykh i inzhenernykh obshchestv SSSR], stressed the exceptional importance of the professional community of scientists and engineers.

Practice has shown that the introduction of new manufacturing processes in production and the improvement of machines are far more effective if academic institutes cooperate more closely with sectorial institutes and with planning organizations and design bureaus and sometimes create comprehensive laboratories in conjunction with them. The speaker called on the scientific societies subordinate to the Academy of Sciences and involved in applied problems to join the new union. He also asked the USSR Academy of Sciences to support the proposal of this social organization on the creation of an engineering academy and to assume the scientific and technical leadership of its activity.

The history of the USSR, the history of the peoples inhabiting our country, and, of course, the history of our party are of tremendous educational significance in the process of restructuring and the elaboration of the new thinking. Academician B.N. Ponomarev emphasized in his speech. Under present conditions it would be expedient for historians to meet to discuss the urgent topical questions of historical science. The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum's decisions direct scientists to the creative consideration of the historical experience of socialist building. It is necessary to convincingly reveal the continuity between the generations and to show the great past of our people truthfully and with a sense of responsibility.

Academician Zh.I. Alferov talked in his speech about the development of democratization and glasnost in the activity of the Academy of Sciences. In his opinion, the identification of long-term research trends should be effected on a competitive basis and in an atmosphere of broad glasnost. The distribution of resources and funds should also take place on those bases. The extensive introduction of those principles which are already in operation in some areas of science would make it possible to more effectively develop fundamental and applied research.

The session of the annual general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences continues.

#### **New 'World Economy' Department**

*PM240819 Moscow PR1VDA in Russian 18 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: USSR Academy of Sciences Annual General Meeting Ends: Augmenting Science's Contribution"]

[Text] Augmenting science's contribution to restructuring and making it a powerful modernizing force were the thrust of the discussion of the results of the USSR Academy of Sciences's work and new tasks at its annual general meeting, which ended in Moscow 17 March. The scientists examined the priority areas of research and outlined ways of increasing their effectiveness. Particular attention was paid to improving the organization of the activity of the academy's subunits and strengthening



links between academic science and education, sector scientific establishments, and production. Participants raised questions concerning the development of democratization and glasnost in the sphere of science and spoke of the need to improve scientific cadres' training.

The special importance of the scientific study of problems connected with national relations was stressed by Academician Yu.V. Bromley in his speech. In his opinion, these questions require a new approach. Both in-depth theoretical research and the study of specific spheres of society's life, ranging from economics to psychology, are required here, since all these spheres affect national relations to some extent or other. The conduct of such work necessitates appropriate scientific subunits in republic academies.

V.S. Semenikhin spoke about ways of developing computers. He noted that the spheres of computer application are constantly expanding. The successful solution of various tasks necessitates a system of computers, a multileveled hierarchical structure of computers at the top of which there is a supercomputer that organizes the smaller machines. Thus, while developing supercomputers it is also necessary to create medium- and small-sized machines that are compatible with them. Only then will our large systems be rational. Speaking about work in the sphere of information technology, the speaker noted the need to create a core program to deal with these problems.

Academician A.N. Tikhonov devoted his speech to questions concerning the application of mathematical methods to the solution of technical tasks. The scientist saw shortcomings in the teaching of mathematics in VUZ's as one of the reasons for difficulty in introducing these methods in technical disciplines. Teaching is not geared to the practical application of knowledge. And for that reason even a specialist with a higher education needs subsequent upgrading of his skills.

Problems connected with the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and the organization of cooperation with academies in socialist countries were raised by Academician I.N. Fridlyander in his speech. He stressed that such collaboration will enable us to meet world standards in a number of areas. It is also essential to develop cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and union republic academies, in whose activity there is a good deal of untapped reserve.

Academician I.V. Gorynin imparted his ideas on the relationship between sector and academic science. Sector science today is playing an increasingly significant role in fundamental research, while academic science, for its part, is tending toward the development of applied problems and sometimes even to the solution of purely engineering tasks, which is well exemplified by the institutes of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the

Siberian and Urals Departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Experience itself is breaking down the artificial division of science based on departmental affiliation. It leaves only objective criteria for evaluating scientific research and its results. The restructuring taking place in the country and the switch to full economic accountability and self-financing will inevitably speed up this progressive trend.

In summing up the results of the reports and debates, the general meeting adopted a resolution urging Soviet scientists to devote all their strength, knowledge, and ability toward meeting the targets set for Soviet science at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum.

The general meeting resolved a number of organizational questions. It resolved to organize a department concerned with problems of the world economy and international relations within the USSR Academy of Sciences. The new department's creation is due to the fact that questions of world development and international relations have become extremely important under modern conditions. These problems demand in-depth scientific research, which the new USSR Academy of Sciences department is designed to provide.

The general meeting elected Academicians R.V. Petrov and A.S. Spirin members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

Academician A.M. Prokhorov was presented at the general assembly session with the USSR Academy of Sciences' highest award—the M.V. Lomonosov Gold Medal for 1987. A large group of scientists was awarded gold medals and prizes named for outstanding Soviet scientists for 1987. USSR pilot-cosmonauts and space equipment designers and builders were presented with K.E. Tsiolkovskiy Gold Medals.

#### **Cancer Drug To Undergo Further Testing**

PM231647 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 6

[Bella Lukyanova interview with Doctor of Medical Sciences V. Vinnitskiy, deputy director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences R.Ye. Kavetskiy Oncology Institute, under "Follow-up to an IZVESTIYA Article" rubric: "Again on the Fate of 'Katreks'; date and place not given—paragraphs seven through ten are editorial comment]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No 27 published an item entitled "What Will Happen to 'Katreks'?" An answer has been received from the USSR Ministry of Health.

In connection with T. Chanturiy's article "What Will Happen to 'Katreks'?" published in IZVESTIYA, the USSR Ministry of Health announces the following:

The USSR Ministry of Health held 8 February an extended conference of specialists on the results of a clinical study of "Katreks." It has been established as a result of the research carried out by the country's eight oncological centers that "Katreks" does not have an anticancer effect and does not have a positive effect on the immunological condition of cancer patients. The preparation is nonstandard and unstable.

However, as a compromise for those patients who were previously treated with "Katreks," USSR Ministry of Health Order No 92 of 10 February 1988 "On the Results of the Clinical Study of 'Katreks'" permits the use of the preparation until 1 July 1988 for cancer patients who were previously treated with "Katreks."

At the same time the USSR Ministry of Health has asked the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry to step up scientific research on the creation of a stable medicinal form of the preparation.

A. Moskvichev, USSR deputy health minister.

Is there any sense now in abandoning the preparation created by A. Gachechiladze, the Georgian scientist and biologist, in its present—incomplete—form? The conference mentioned in the Ministry of Health's reply cited, incidentally, the example of an analogous compound created in America in the sixties and which did not enter widespread practical use owing to the inability to standardize it. But we are now in the eighties! It is possible that the problem of creating a stable preparation will be solved.

Those who carried out 3-month clinical tests and those who observed without officially taking part in the experiment have already written articles in our newspaper. The conclusions were not unambiguous. While leaving the specialists the right to cast a definitive judgment, we were convinced of one thing: If there is a chance of somehow easing patients' lot, the research must not be curtailed....

At a Ministry of Health conference, a reproach was addressed to the press. It was accused of creating an unwarranted fuss over "Katreks." Minister Ye. Yazov mentioned the journal SMENA, following whose article approximately 30,000 people assembled in Tbilisi in the hope of being cured with Gachechiladze's preparation.

We support, unconditionally, the minister's idea that glasnost must not be enjoyed to the detriment of patients. Of course, to report without justification that a remedy has been found for curing cancerous illnesses is at the least irresponsible. We must nonetheless say what we have said in previous IZVESTIYA material. Yes, specialists were and are, naturally, reserved the right to assess any medicines. It is the right and duty of journalists and the press as a whole to talk about what is happening in our public health system, which is today, unfortunately, not noted for its great organization or

great efficiency. It is the right and duty of journalists to acquaint their readers with the grounds on which research into medicinal substances affecting the interests of many people has been and is being conducted and to what extent it is objective. Taking advantage of this right, we publish below a conversation with Doctor of Medical Sciences V. Vinnitskiy, deputy director of the Ukrainian SSR R.Ye. Kavetskiy Oncology Institute. Approximately 3 years ago, on instructions from B. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, this institute joined the research program studying the properties of "Katreks." Bella Lukyanova talked with the scientist.

[Lukyanova] Vladimir Borisovich, what, in your view, is the reason for the minister's negative response?

[Vinnitskiy] A criterion known to be unsuitable to draw general conclusions about the usefulness of the preparation was chosen, since the range of its therapeutic effects is relatively broad. The fact that "Katreks" does not have a direct anticancer effect was known to the author, the researchers, and the doctors alike. Therefore, carrying out tests on patients with advanced forms of cancer to prove this was inexpedient. This was an incorrect way of posing the question. And second, a 3-month period is meaningless for this purpose in clinical oncology. After all, the results of the effectiveness of cancer treatments in world practice are not computed in months. A year is the bare minimum to form a preliminary picture about the effectiveness of a drug, and 3 years would be the minimum period to assess it, while 5 years would be an optimal period. A multitude of factors has to be assessed, and this must be done in the process of development.

[Lukyanova] Can you explain the difference between direct-effect and indirect-effect anticancer preparations?

[Vinnitskiy] True anticancer preparations are substances which kill off cancer cells in a tissue culture removed from the tumor and placed in a test-tube. An indirectly acting mechanism works through the various systems of the organism either by changing the metabolism or by raising immunological reactivity, and so forth.

[Lukyanova] What can you say about this preparation on the basis of the work which has already been carried out at your institute?

[Vinnitskiy] In the strict sense of the term, the "Katreks" which we have received from the Gachechiladze laboratory cannot yet be described as a preparation; rather, it is a cocktail of biologically active substances. Its toxic side-effects are quite negligible. "Katreks" is unique in that it combines several qualities: It is a powerful immunomodulator with a pronounced anti-inflammatory, pain-killing, and, last but not least, antimetastatic effect. We have observed the manifestations of its effects in numerous experiments on animals and are now studying the nature of these qualities.

[Lukyanova] Can you explain in more detail, please, what these characteristics mean?

[Vinnitskiy] As is known, immunomodulation is the ability to adjust the immune response to the desired level. Not every stimulation of the immune system is useful. After all, the immune system contains, simply speaking, both cells which enhance immunity and cells which suppress it. If the preparation stimulated all immune factors indiscriminately, situations might arise which could only harm the patient. "Katreks" possesses the positive quality of selective stimulation of the immune system. It has no effect in conditions of normal immune reactivity and only "comes into play" when this reactivity is deficient. Incidentally, as regards this characteristic we have compared "Katreks" with Interleukin-2, a U.S. preparation which is currently attracting interest in the oncological world as a very promising and effective preparation. The result of the comparison was in favor of "Katreks" (however, I must stress that we investigated only this one quality).

Judging by preliminary findings, we are associating the pain-killing effect of "Katreks" with the presence in it of substances resembling natural opiates plus something else which we have not yet identified. I must note that we have not tested the preparation in the clinic....

And finally, the experimentally well-investigated "Katreks" property to suppress metastasis formation in test animals with various forms of cancer: Here too, it does

not act by directly killing off neoplasms, but rather by influencing the mechanism which controls their development.

We believe that "Katreks" could also be used to restore the organism and to prevent relapses after the main course of treatment.

[Lukyanova] How do you see the present and the future of this preparation?

[Vinnitskiy] I believe that "Katreks," produced at the Gachechiladze laboratory on the basis of an extract from the liver of the Black Sea spiny dogfish [Katran], even in the form in which it is available now should be obtainable by clinical establishments which want to be involved in its approbation. And by 1990, perhaps, or toward the end of that year, we are hoping in a joint effort with the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry under an existing agreement to develop a standard pharmaceutical form of this preparation in line with the stipulations of the USSR Ministry of Health Pharmacological Committee. This is a research task. It is possible that "katreks" will be obtained in dried, lyophile form, like Interferon. The separation and concentration of its individual components is not ruled out, although there are fears that with maximum purification the preparation may lose its activeness. We will try to keep this in mind. After it has been transformed into a pharmaceutical form, "Katreks" will again, as prescribed, undergo all stages of preclinical and clinical tests.

# Daily Report

## Soviet Union

FBIS-SOVI-88-058

## CONTENTS

25 March 1988

### ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

|                                                                               |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Supreme Soviet Commission Debates INF Treaty .....                            | 1 |
| Gerasimov Speaks .....                                                        | 1 |
| Foreign Delegates Attend .....                                                | 1 |
| GDR, CSSR Envoys Participate .....                                            | 2 |
| CSSR's Stafek Speaks [CTK] .....                                              | 3 |
| Strict Interpretation of ABM Treaty Urged [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA 23 Mar] ..... | 3 |
| Military Council Member on Missile Destruction [IZVESTIYA 23 Mar] .....       | 4 |
| Conference on Disarmament Research Ends .....                                 | 5 |

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### United States & Canada

|                                                                         |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Shevardnadze Holds 23 Mar News Conference [PRAVDA 25 Mar] .....         | 6  |
| Shultz on Talks With Shevardnadze, TU Ties [TRUD 19 Mar] .....          | 9  |
| White House Spokesman on Upcoming Summit .....                          | 11 |
| Baker on Senate INF Ratification Hope [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Mar] .....    | 11 |
| 'Pauses' in INF Ratification Process Deplored [MOSCOW NEWS No 12] ..... | 11 |
| Kornilov Criticizes U.S. Human Rights Remarks .....                     | 12 |

#### Southeast Asia & Pacific

|                                                  |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|
| Reportage on Rogachev Visit to Philippines ..... | 13 |
| 'Friendly' Talks With Aquino .....               | 13 |
| Urges Spratley Island Settlement [AFP] .....     | 14 |

#### Near East & South Asia

|                                                                |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Afghan-Pakistan Peace Talks Continue in Geneva .....           | 14 |
| Work on 'Final Drafts' .....                                   | 14 |
| Talks Resume 'Next Week' .....                                 | 14 |
| Najibullah Remarks Cited [MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Mar] .....     | 14 |
| Border Issue Assailed .....                                    | 15 |
| Border Tribes Rally in Kabul .....                             | 15 |
| Keshtrand Discusses Current Afghan Economy .....               | 16 |
| U.S. 'Urges' Israeli Military Strikes on Arabs [Asilyev] ..... | 16 |
| Statement by New PLO Representative to USSR .....              | 16 |

#### Sub-Saharan Africa

|                                              |    |
|----------------------------------------------|----|
| Petrovskiy Concludes Talks in Zimbabwe ..... | 17 |
| 'Complete Identity of Views' .....           | 17 |
| U.S. Mediation Not Opposed [TANJUG] .....    | 18 |

#### East Europe

|                                                                             |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| More on Transfer of Soviet Forces' Missile Base .....                       | 18 |
| PZPR's Siwicki Visits Soviet Northern Forces [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Mar] ..... | 18 |
| Hungary's Kadar on Reforms, Party Conference [PRAVDA 12 Mar] .....          | 18 |
| Describes Main Tasks [PRAVDA 19 Mar] .....                                  | 19 |
| 'Revelation' of Bulgarian Elections Described [PRAVDA 5 Mar] .....          | 19 |
| Yugoslav Experts Describe Economic Policies [MOSCOW NEWS No 11] .....       | 20 |



## West Europe

|                                                     |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|
| First Live Moscow-Bonn TV Link Established .....    | 23 |
| INF Treaty Discussed .....                          | 23 |
| Bilateral Ties Appraised .....                      | 23 |
| Afghanistan, Armenia Reviewed .....                 | 24 |
| Further on Shevardnadze Stopover in Portugal .....  | 24 |
| Meets With CP Leader .....                          | 24 |
| Holds Talks With Officials .....                    | 25 |
| Returns to Moscow .....                             | 25 |
| Supreme Soviet Delegation on Scandinavia Tour ..... | 26 |
| Meets Swedish Parliamentarians .....                | 26 |
| Soviet Appeals 'Studied' .....                      | 26 |
| Zaykov To Lead Delegation to Finland 5 Apr .....    | 27 |

## Latin America & Caribbean

|                                                 |    |
|-------------------------------------------------|----|
| Ortega Comments on Cease-Fire Agreement .....   | 27 |
| U.S. Applies Financial Pressure on Panama ..... | 27 |
| Reportage on Uruguayan President's Visit .....  | 27 |
| 'Joint Statement' [PRAVDA 25 Mar] .....         | 27 |
| More on Departure [PRAVDA 24 Mar] .....         | 31 |

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Political & Social

|                                                                                                |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Politburo Discusses Karabakh, Official Visits [PRAVDA 25 Mar] .....                            | 32 |
| Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Dissolves Committee [Baku] .....                                     | 34 |
| Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Events .....                                             | 35 |
| More on Ethnographers .....                                                                    | 35 |
| PRAVDA Correspondent Suspended [PRAVDA 25 Mar] .....                                           | 36 |
| Sakharov Writes to Gorbachev [DPA] .....                                                       | 37 |
| Armenian Nationalist Arrested [AFP] .....                                                      | 37 |
| Yerevan Reported Calm [AFP] .....                                                              | 37 |
| Intellectuals Issue Appeal .....                                                               | 38 |
| Other Intellectuals Appeal .....                                                               | 38 |
| Official Outlines Karabakh Development Program [IZVESTIYA 25 Mar] .....                        | 38 |
| Karabakh Party Chief Pogosyan Interviewed [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 3 Mar] .....                | 40 |
| Academician Bromley Outlines Nationality Issues [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 13] .....                | 41 |
| Solovyev Attends Leningrad Soviet Session [IZVESTIYA 20 Mar] .....                             | 42 |
| Biryukova Tbilisi Activities Detailed [Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA 15 Mar] .....                     | 42 |
| Further on Visit [PRAVDA 19 Mar] .....                                                         | 43 |
| Dissident Priest Asks Patriarch To Step Down [AFP] .....                                       | 44 |
| 'New Approaches' to Islam Urged in Uzbekistan<br>[Alimov in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Mar] ..... | 44 |
| Kazakh Party Meets Media Representatives [Alma-Ata] .....                                      | 46 |
| Estonian Nationalist Demonstrations Described [Bonn DIE WELT 25 Mar] .....                     | 47 |
| Swedish Weekly on Estonian National Sentiment [Stockholm NU 17 Mar] .....                      | 47 |
| 'A Dozen' Refuzniks Detained in Moscow [AFP] .....                                             | 49 |
| State Committees for Forests, Timber Formed [IZVESTIYA 17 Mar] .....                           | 50 |
| Restrictions on Mailing Abroad To Be Eased [IZVESTIYA 16 Mar] .....                            | 50 |
| New State Committee for RSFSR Created [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 19 Mar] .....            | 50 |
| RSFSR Council of Ministers Discussions Held<br>[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 19 Mar] .....   | 50 |
| Agenda for 19 April RSFSR Supreme Soviet [PRAVDA 19 Mar] .....                                 | 51 |
| Children Killed for Transplant Rumors Denied [NEDELYA No 11] .....                             | 51 |

## Supreme Soviet Commission Debates INF Treaty

### Gerasimov Speaks

LD241258 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A regular meeting of the Preparatory Commission, a working body of the foreign affairs commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, opened in the Kremlin today to produce recommendations and proposals related to the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Georgiy Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, let Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, to have the floor.

"I see my task in informing the esteemed deputies about how countries and states evaluate the treaty which you are comprehensively analyzing now", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. He emphasized that the U.S. side supported it. U.S. President Ronald Reagan regards the treaty as a breakthrough, a precedent which can serve as a basis for attaining progress in other areas. At the same time, there are persons in the United States, including in Congress, who principally are against any agreement with the "Reds", including, certainly, the treaty under consideration.

Gerasimov said that U.S. allies in NATO and outside NATO had supported the treaty. For instance, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl described this document as the "first treaty on real disarmament" and expressed the hope that it could ameliorate the general climate in East-West relations and help build up confidence between the great powers. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher described the signing of the treaty as an historic event and good news for all. French President Francois Mitterrand also gave his approval to the treaty. A collective approval of the treaty rang out at the session of the European Council of the Communities last December.

The world community also welcomed the Soviet-U.S. treaty, Gerasimov said. An agreement was reached for the first time, which will actually cutback the nuclear weapons arsenals that make people shudder, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in this connection. Robert Mugabe, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and prime minister of Zimbabwe, and also the leaders of six countries—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania—positively evaluated the treaty.

Pope John Paul the Second, head of the Roman-Catholic Church, said that the treaty signed in Washington signalled an end to persistent efforts and at the same time opened up hopeful prospects for forging the disarmament process for the future of the cause of peace.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman drew attention to the fact that in stating about their approval of the treaty some representatives of NATO raise the issue of "compensation", that is of building up conventional weapons. There is talk about "modernizing" NATO tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. These plans, once implemented, the meaning of the INF Treaty as a breakthrough towards real disarmament will be emasculated, Gerasimov stressed. [sentence as received]

The debate at the session of the Preparatory Commission is continued.

### Foreign Delegates Attend

LD241629 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Today's session of the Preparatory Commission which is a working body of the foreign relations commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, unlike previous session, was attended not only by Soviet parliamentarians, but also by representatives of other countries. Reports there were made in Russian, German, English and Czech. Soviet parliamentarians were interested in the evaluation of the INF Treaty by the world public. Representatives of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, countries on whose territories Soviet shorter-range missiles were deployed, were the first to speak at the session. Vaclav Stafek, member of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the House of Nations, and Wolfgang Weichert, chairman of the Commission on Constitutional and Legal Problems of the People's Chamber of the GDR, urged Soviet parliamentarians to ratify the Soviet-American treaty.

The session was addressed by representatives of U.S. and West European public organizations. Werner Henner, chairman of the anti-fascist organization "Flowers for Stuckenbrock" (West Germany), recalled that 65,000 Soviet prisoners of war had been exterminated in the village of Stuckenbrock during World War II. At present the organization regards it as its task to put into practice the mandate inscribed on the common graves: "You, those who live today, see to it that human and interstate relations be based on peace." If a new thinking is gradually penetrating the life, the credit for it goes, in the first place, to a consistent and vigorous policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Henner pointed out. The signing of the INF Treaty in Washington creates preconditions for overcoming the main contradictions of today.

Professor Frank Von Hippel, president of the American Scientists' Federation Fund, member of the Board of Directors of the international fund "For the Survival and Development of Humanity," pointed out that the very fact of a U.S. representative speaking in the Kremlin

**Economic**

|                                                                      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Jan-Feb Industrial Performance Report [EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 12] | 52 |
| State Acceptance Impact on Construction Viewed [PRAVDA 18 Mar]       | 56 |
| Poultry Factories Offer Shares to Employees                          | 58 |

**Agricultural**

|                                             |    |
|---------------------------------------------|----|
| Moscow Farmers Congress Activities Continue | 58 |
| Gorbachev Participates in Debate            | 58 |
| 'Critical Remarks' on Draft Law             | 59 |
| Collectives' Role Assessed                  | 60 |
| Congress Approves Resolution                | 60 |
| Congress Continues 25 Mar                   | 61 |

shows that the USSR and the U.S. are facing common problems. The INF Treaty is a landmark in the understanding of the fact that progress can be achieved in the world only in the course of cooperation. The treaty is a triumph of all those who come out for nuclear-free world.

Olli Renn, chairman of the Youth Union of the Centre Party of Finland, who also addressed the session said that the INF Treaty showed that a possibility of disarmament agreements between the U.S. and the USSR, between NATO and the Warsaw treaty, was real. He said that as a young European he urged the USSR and U.S. to take into account, when considering the ratification of the treaty, the viewpoint of all the European nations, of humanity in general, of all those who want our planet to be rid of nuclear weapons.

Tom Leimdorfer, representatives of the East-West Liaison Committee of the "Peace and Quaker Service" organization of Britain, pointed out that the sad experience of SALT-2 should not be repeated, that it was necessary to pave the way for a further disarmament program, for the creation of a world without enemies.

Valentina Tereshkova, president of the Presidium of the USSR Union of Friendship Societies, also spoke of the need for overcoming the enemy image. She read several letters showing the mood of the public in various countries. Connie Zweig from the U.S. said in her letter: "We were enemies too long. It is high time for us to unite in the struggle against our common enemies—hunger, poverty, bureaucracy and the cruelty of hearts."

Summing up the results of the session, Georgiy Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission, said that all the reports would be thoroughly analyzed and taken into account during the working out of the commission's report. He pointed out that today's session had made them even more firm in their evaluation of the INF Treaty as the first step towards the realization of the eternal dream of humanity—to beat swords into plowshares.

#### **GDR, CSSR Envoys Participate**

*LD241441 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Representatives of parliaments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia have taken part in a regular session of the Preparatory Commission, a working body of foreign relations commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet for working out recommendations and proposals connected with the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The session was held in the Kremlin today.

"The treaty signed in Washington last December was the first concrete step on the way of the realization of a highly humane program of the creation of a nuclear-free

world by the end of the current century that was put forward by the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986", said Vaclav Stafek, member of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Nations. "The concluding of the treaty proves that correctness of new approaches to the solution of key problems of the present-day world put forward by the Soviet Union together with other countries of the socialist community".

The representatives of the Czechoslovak parliament expressed confidence that the elimination of two classes of nuclear armaments would very much promote the lessening of tension, the consolidation of security of European countries, the strengthening of trust and the development of all-round fruitful cooperation. He recalled that the Czechoslovak Government had reiterated its readiness to promote the implementation of the treaty by giving its consent to U.S. inspections at Soviet military facilities situated on Czechoslovak territory.

Stafek pointed out that the signing of the INF Treaty had met with broad positive response among the Czechoslovak public. "The Soviet-American treaty is regarded in Czechoslovakia as a major breakthrough at the disarmament talks which will lead to success at the talks on other types of armaments. It is regarded as a victory of commonsense and reason, as a concrete result of a new thinking in world politics", the Czechoslovak parliamentarian pointed out.

Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the Commission on Constitutional and Legal Problems of the People's Chamber of the GDR, who spoke after Vaclav Stafek, pointed out that GDR citizens understood full well that the signing of the INF Treaty was the result first of all of a consistent and flexible peaceful policy pursued by the USSR. "Concrete steps taken by the USSR at the talks were coordinated most closely with its allies. We have always been sure that the interests of the GDR security are reliably protected", Weichelt said. He reported that all the preparations for the implementation of the Soviet-American treaty dealing with the GDR territory that depended on the GDR had been completed there. Weichelt recalled that the withdrawal ahead of schedule of the shorter-range missiles deployed in the GDR had been ended several days before.

"It is truly symbolic that some of the military facilities in the GDR from which weapons were removed are being turned into recreation centres for working people. There is the best way to demonstrate most vividly the striving of socialist countries for real disarmament", he said.

"We believe that we really have the right to urge all those on whom the coming into force of the treaty depends to do their utmost for its immediate ratification. We are sure that the coming into force of the treaty and its realization will start a permanent dynamic process of



deep-going disarmament measures and an obvious improvement of cooperation of states in all the spheres", the GDR parliamentarian said.

### CSSR's Stafek Speaks

LD241749 Prague CTK in English 1541 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 (CTK correspondent)—Representatives of the parliaments of Czechoslovakia and the GDR conveyed the position of their countries on the Soviet-American intermediate forces treaty at a session of the subcommittee of the foreign affairs committees of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament, which is discussing the political and military aspects of the treaty.

Vaclav Stafek, the deputy chairman of the House of Nations of Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly and chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee, told the session that top Czechoslovak bodies and citizens follow the process of ratification of the INF Treaty with special attention.

He said the Czechoslovak Government had agreed with U.S. representatives carrying out inspection in Soviet military installations in Czechoslovakia, in keeping with a tripartite agreement signed by the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the GDR in Berlin last December and a Czechoslovak-U.S. agreement.

Vaclav Stafek said that after approval by the government and the Federal Assembly the two documents will be submitted to the president of Czechoslovakia for ratification and will come into effect simultaneously with the Soviet-American treaty.

The Czechoslovak representative further mentioned the withdrawal of Soviet OTR 22 (SS 12) shorter-range missiles from Czechoslovakia, completed several days ago, and said the withdrawal of the missiles from Czechoslovakia and the GDR was accepted in the world as a goodwill gesture of the USSR and its allies. Unfortunately, the United States and the West European countries where missiles are deployed, do not intend to follow suit, he added.

Vaclav Stafek also recalled the Czechoslovak and GDR proposal for establishing a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, as well as other Czechoslovak initiatives presented at the CSCE Vienna follow-up meeting and in the United Nations.

He said Czechoslovakia's latest proposal to establish a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the line where the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states meet follows up the previous initiatives and was clearly supported by the fraternal socialist countries. The Western states have so far made no official statements regarding it, while the developing countries believe the ideas of the proposal could be used

in solving open regional conflicts. Czechoslovakia realizes that the acceptance of the proposal will require a longer time and corresponding diplomatic activities, the Czechoslovak official said.

### Strict Interpretation of ABM Treaty Urged

AU241346 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA  
in Bulgarian 23 Mar 88 p 4

["Commentary" by Lieutenant Viktor Pavlov, "expert on military-political problems": "There Is No Soviet SDI Program"]

[Text] In connection with Ronald Reagan's recent statement at the annual conference of war veterans, at which he once again declared that the United States should continue research on, produce, and test the SDI antimissile program and when ready proceed to the implementation of the program, NOVOSTI submits the following commentary by Lieutenant General Viktor Pavlov:

This is how the President who declares that everyone in the world should observe his international commitments once again exempts the United States from this rule. It turns out that, despite the stipulations of the ABM Treaty, the United States is entitled not only to pursue research, but even to engage in the "production and testing" of antimissile systems and space-based components, which is banned by Article 5 of the ABM Treaty.

As we see from the President's statements, he does not consider himself bound by the recent USSR-U.S. summit declaration issued on 10 December 1987, in which the two sides declared themselves in favor of observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and not according to a "liberal interpretation."

Reagan, in attempting to justify his stand, tried to set up parallels with the actions of the USSR in the antimissile defense sector. He even pointed out specific figures for the Russians' expenditure on the development of strategic defense—" \$200 billion in the last 10 years." In addition, the President said that in developing military lasers alone, the Soviet Union has recruited 10,000 of its best engineers and scientists. At the same time, U.S. military expenditures amount to \$10 billion in 5 years. As we can see, there is a sharp contrast here.

In this case people on the other side of the Atlantic are trying to present the U.S. SDI program, that is, the "Star Wars" program, as a U.S. effort to catch up with the USSR, since the Soviet Union is allegedly ahead of the United States as regards this type of weapon. In addition, the accent is laid upon the assertion that the USSR allegedly admitted the possibility of developing and testing antimissile space systems within the framework of the ABM Treaty.

However, people in Washington are unable to cite a single example of any Soviet tests to destroy strategic ballistic missiles by laser, tests which the United States

actually conducted in September 1985. Washington is unable to point out facts about the testing of nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers, similar to those that took place in Nevada, in December 1985. Moscow cannot be accused of space experiments, like those carried out by the United States during military exercises known by the code name Delta. The last of those experiments took place in February 1988.

No similar developments, or tests, are taking place in the USSR. We have no programs whatsoever in our country that bear even the slightest resemblance to the U.S. SDI program. The arguments about tremendous expenditures—such as \$200 billion—are absolutely groundless as well.

The U.S. Administration would be very pleased if the USSR were to contribute directly or indirectly to destroying the foundations of the ABM Treaty. This is also the essence of the most recent U.S. draft for an agreement at the Geneva negotiations—an agreement contributing to a transition, on the basis of cooperation, to the deployment of future strategic defense against ballistic missiles.

However, the efforts of the United States to create the impression that the USSR today is allegedly almost prepared to agree to the "liberal interpretation" of the United States, which was specially intended to distort the substance of the ABM Treaty, are futile. The effort to present things so as to make people believe that the Soviet side has already almost agreed to a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons without linking this reduction to strict observance of the ABM Treaty is over hasty.

We should recall once again: The reduction of strategic offensive weapons is only possible on the condition that each of the sides does not try to destroy the existing strategic balance and create conditions for a first nuclear strike by way of developing a large-scale antimissile defense with elements of space basing and in the hope of evading retaliation.

**Military Council Member on Missile Destruction**  
*PM241019 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88*  
*Morning Edition p 3*

[Own correspondent E. Matskevich dispatch under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "How the Missiles Will Be Destroyed"]

[Text] Alma Ata—The press has already reported that trains carrying operational-tactical missiles withdrawn from standby alert on the territory of the GDR and the CSSR prior to the ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are arriving at Saryozek station in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. This is an important event which has attracted the sustained interest of Soviet people and disarmament champions throughout the world.

A press conference for journalists, writers, and representatives of creative unions, held in Alma-Ata 21 March, was devoted to this event. It must be noted that the need to hold this meeting was based on the public's wish to learn in more detail what is being done to prepare for the elimination of these terrible weapons and how it will be implemented.

Why precisely in Saryozek? Was it really necessary to transport the hardware so far, right across the country? Will this not harm the environment? To what extent will the material losses be recouped? These are just some of the questions which were answered in detail by Major General G. Chuchkalov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Red Banner Central Asian Military District Political Directorate.

Saryozek is not the only site chosen for the elimination of missiles. Locations for the destruction of specific missiles have also been chosen elsewhere in the country.

Under the provisions, the distance between the site of the elimination of delivery vehicles and their launch installations must be at least 1,000 km. Saryozek meets this stipulation. In addition, a specific technical facilities and service personnel is available in the area. Other advantages include the relative remoteness from major population centers and the local terrain. The site was chosen not just by the military but also by a special interdepartmental state commission which included ecologists.

As for the safety of the operation, which is scheduled to take 18 months, it is fully guaranteed. Only the delivery vehicles and launch containers will be destroyed at the local site by blasting. The nuclear warheads will have been dismantled separately at plants in other regions. Correspondents from socialist countries were able to see this for themselves after the arrival of the first batch of the hardware in Saryozek. A test destruction of dummy missiles of a similar class by means of ordinary explosive in accordance with a specifically elaborated program has been carried out here. The effects do not differ greatly from the conditions of an ordinary artillery test site during test firings.

Several tens of kilometers separate the demolition site from Saryozek, it is located in a depression between clay hills, protective earth embankments are to be built, and attention is to be paid to the wind direction. All this totally rules out the spread of noxious substances.

Soviet and American experts will watch the process and monitor the strict observance of all conditions.

After the demolition, the remains of the missiles are to be smelted, precious metals are to be extracted from the dismantled components of the control system, and the powerful tow-trucks based on the MAZ-543 will be turned into cross-country vehicles, lifting cranes, and similar machines for use in the national economy.

**Conference on Disarmament Research Ends**  
*LD242340 Moscow TASS in English 2246 GMT*  
*24 Mar 88*

[Text] Sochi March 24 TASS—Matters aimed at widening cooperation between institutes of various countries of the world dealing with international issues were discussed here at a conference on the subject "Research in the field of disarmament and a program for the nineties".

The conference, which came to a close here today, was held on the initiative of the United Nations Institute Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and was attended by the directors, presidents and leading specialists of forty institutes of the world and by delegations from 17 developing countries. They were represented so widely for the first time.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, UNIDIR Director Mr Janapalu pointed out that there was urgent necessity to itemize a cooperation program in order to rule out duplication and to concentrate research efforts.

Mr Janapalu said the conference determined measures to render assistance to the recently founded institutes in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Jan Pudlak, director of the Prague Institute of International Relations, described the conference as useful. In his view, possibilities for cooperation between the institutes of various countries are far from being exhausted. He is of the opinion that time has come to devote more attention to the elaboration of practical proposals.

Milan Sakhovic, director of the Belgrade Institute of International Relations, pointed out that intense work in the field of disarmament lies ahead, and that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was only the first step in the cause of disarmament.

The same idea was emphasized by Jan Keim, representative of the French Institute of International Relations, who pointed out that the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty for the first time envisaged full elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles.

## United States & Canada

**Shevardnadze Holds 23 Mar News Conference**  
*PM251411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88*  
*Second Edition pp 5,7*

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, held a press conference at the Soviet Embassy in Washington Wednesday, following the conclusion of talks in the U.S. capital.

As you already know, said Eduard Shevardnadze, a few hours ago on the basis of instructions from General Secretary Gorbachev, we have agreed with President Reagan on the dates of his visit to the Soviet Union. Moscow is awaiting the President of the United States of America at the end of May. This is a good time of the year for the fourth summit meeting between the leaders of our two countries in the last 2 and 1/2 years.

This is a good time of the year for the next radical step in renewing Soviet-U.S. relations on the basis of dialogue and constructive cooperation. This is indeed a good time of the year to take a fresh look on the roads travelled by mankind, and to abandon those roads that lead to confrontation in the arms race and heightened international tensions.

All summit meetings that have taken place within the period that in our country we call the time of perestroika and new thinking, have become landmark events in Soviet-U.S. relations. The forthcoming meeting in Moscow will be a logical continuation of the course that began in Geneva, that continued in Reykjavik and Washington. I believe that our common task, our common concern and goal should be to make the U.S. President's visit to Moscow as productive as was Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington.

This is why we meet every month, myself and Secretary Shultz, and this, by the way, is our 23rd meeting over the last two and a half years, and we alternate visits to Washington and Moscow. You can logically ask what the results of those meetings are. But before describing those results, including the results of this meeting, I would like to make a remark of a more general philosophical nature.

The meeting in December was marked by the treaty eliminating an entire class of weapons—intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is our desire—and we are striving to ensure this—that the forthcoming Moscow meeting be crowned by the agreement on the 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. But however enormous these achievements of political intellect are in and of themselves, I think that the meeting goes far beyond the fact that they removed from the arsenals of death enormous quantities of nuclear weapons.

The most important and determining meaning of those summit meetings and of the decisions taken there is that, as we see it, they shape a new quality of our relations, which can create a new nature of overall international relations.

Being the product of new thinking, they create new political and socio-psychological realities of the world. If you look at the current situation in a fresh way, then it will immediately become obvious how far from normal this current situation is. Let us look at the relationship between nuclear arms and man. Nuclear arms are necessary for the defense of man, as individual, as representative, and as a continuator of the human race. But at the same time, it is clear today that those nuclear arms threaten man with physical destruction, economic impoverishment, and moral and spiritual degradation.

Therefore, nuclear disarmament is increasingly acquiring an indisputable human dimension which can no longer be ignored. I feel that the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan increasingly affect this main parameter in an increasingly profound and broad way. And it is quite natural that this human dimension becomes the link that indissolubly relates together the problems of disarmament with regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral relations.

At these negotiations with the secretary of state, we have again discussed the entire spectrum of those problems. Overall, we can say that on each of those problems, there is some movement. There is a step forward. Although those have not been very big steps, each of those steps makes it evident that there is a greater understanding of where to move and on what to focus our efforts.

For example, discussing humanitarian questions, and we began the dialogue with the President, and also with the secretary of state, with those questions of humanitarian nature, we have been able to note that those discussions have become increasingly constructive. And we have agreed that we should discontinue a wholly critical manner of conversation on these matters, that we should abandon this accusatory and denouncing manner of talk on those questions.

In addition to recording facts and events, which are of some concern to each side, it is necessary, in our view, also to note positive trends that emerge in the life of our countries and to consider positive experience, for example, the practice of improving legislation in the sphere of human rights and meeting the spiritual and material demands of people.

Discussions of human rights and all aspects of humanitarian cooperation will continue in a special group of experts, which will remain here and will continue discussions after our departure. We can expect that a special



group on humanitarian questions representing the legislatures of our two countries will be established soon. And I would like to say that this idea emerged in Washington during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan.

So on this avenue of Soviet-U.S. relations, direct movement both ways is intensifying.

Of course, of special interest for us are questions related to an agreement on strategic offensive arms in the context of compliance with the ABM Treaty.

Let me make one remark in this connection. We and Secretary of State Shultz work on the basis of a clear mandate from our leaders, who have instructed us to prepare not just a new agreement, but a good, verifiable and viable document, a treaty on strategic offensive arms, and this is a difficult task.

We fully agree with those who say that the groundwork for a major reduction in long-range arms should be well prepared. Therefore, we give major attention to bringing closer together the conceptual approaches of the two sides to finding a place and a meaning for each detail of the future treaty. Does this remark conceal a lack of real progress? Let me give you an example by way of an answer.

A conceptual outline for a mechanism of verification for long-range sea-launched cruise missiles has now emerged. As you know, this question is one of the most difficult ones. Some people say that sea-launched cruise missiles cannot be verified. We say that they can be, if those missiles are made verifiable. And many methods can be used for that, such as establishing quantitative limitations on missiles, remote verification of the presence of nuclear missiles aboard ships, verification at sites where missiles are fitted with their nuclear charges, and inspection of submarines and surface ships. The U.S. side has found those ideas interesting, and it has agreed that a combination of several methods of verification may, in principle, make it possible to find a solution in this difficult problem, too.

Similar package solutions have been proposed for air-launched cruise missiles and mobile ICBM's. I think it is possible to find a key for solving the problem of rules for counting heavy bombers equipped with cruise missiles.

Overall, the situation now enables us to hope that at the April round of negotiations in Moscow, we will be able to find mutually acceptable solutions on a number of major questions. We have had a generally good discussion of the problem of prohibiting chemical weapons. As recently agreed, we have handed to the U.S. side a draft statement on prohibiting chemical weapons which our leaders could make at their meeting in Moscow.

Of course, not everything was smooth and peaceful during our discussions. We did not expect that that would be so. There were, and there are some differences, but almost all of them reflect differences in the substance of the problems and almost all of them are free from propaganda admixtures. But there were some exceptions, too. I will not remind you of the numerous loud speeches in the West about alleged Soviet superiority in conventional arms in Europe. There have been so many appeals to link further reductions in nuclear arms with the elimination of imbalances in conventional arms. This was particularly emphasized at the recent NATO session in Brussels.

Let me remind you that at the recent meeting between the Soviet and U.S. ministers of defense in Bern, General Dmitriy Yazov spoke of our readiness to exchange data on the numbers of troops of both sides in Europe. Continuing this matter at these negotiations in Washington, we have said to the secretary of state and other administration representatives that in mid-April experts would be able to embark on agreeing upon a list of categories of data which are to be published, and in mid-May, we would be ready to have an open exchange of information on conventional arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. This information would encompass data on the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries as a whole, on each of the countries, and on regions—northern, central, and southern Europe.

Let me say, in all honesty, that we were amazed at the response of our U.S. partners. They have shown, to put in very mildly, no great enthusiasm to discuss that question.

Could it be that the Americans are not concerned about the balance of forces in Europe? If that is so, it is then not clear why they have been exploiting so passionately this question of alleged Soviet superiority, why they have broken so many spears about the so-called asymmetries and imbalances.

Let me speak about regional problems now. There was a very serious and in-depth discussion of those problems, not only between ministers but also between top-level experts and specialists.

There was a particularly full discussion of the situation around Afghanistan, of the situation in the Middle East, in Central America, the Iran-Iraq conflict, and some others. Overall, we believe that over these two days a great deal of useful work has been done. These negotiations have become another very important stage in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Question: What is the mystery, that instead of the planned completion of the meetings at 6 p.m., they did not end until 8 p.m.? Is it a good sign or a bad sign?

Answer: Well, I wouldn't call that a record. I remember one occasion last year when I and the secretary of state met for 18 hours. The reason is that we are discussing extremely difficult and complex problems.

Question: The general secretary, Mr. Gorbachev, during his press conference in Washington, said that NATO has considerable military superiority in the southern flank. And last week in Belgrade, he repeated the same line and said that NATO is planning so-called "compensation" precisely on the southern flank. During your visit to Washington, did you raise this issue? And did you make any specific reference to NATO's southern flank?

Answer: Well, as I have already mentioned, we have said that we are ready to publish all data on the armed forces, on the numbers of armed forces in Europe, including Central Europe, and also the southern and the northern flanks. I want to add something else. We raised in a principled manner and with the utmost seriousness the question of naval forces. There has not yet been a thorough, specific, and detailed discussion of this question. We have proposed putting this question on the agenda, and not only from the standpoint of Soviet-U.S. talks. It is a problem that demands the attention of the entire world community.

This problem is of great importance, for example, in the Mediterranean. And it was no accident that M.S. Gorbachev has raised this question in such a fundamental way. It is very topical for northern sea areas, the Pacific, the Atlantic, and so forth. The lessening of military confrontation in the seas and oceans is a very important, a very urgent problem.

Question: Was any agreement or understanding reached regarding the symmetrical reduction or ending of U.S. and Soviet aid to their respective allies in Afghanistan, which would allow the agreement in Geneva to be signed in the next few days? In other words, has the Soviet Union agreed to stop providing aid to the Kabul Government in return for the U.S. cutting off its aid to the mujahidin?

Answer: No agreement has been reached on that question, and no understanding has been reached on that question. And this is because the problem of arms supplies is not contained in the document that has been prepared in Geneva. And since no understanding has been reached on that, this, as we understand, can prevent the United States from acting as a guarantor of non-interference.

Question: Regarding the importance of the economical dialogue, did you discuss with Mr Reagan or Mr Shultz some aspects of, in general, the economical relations between the Soviet Union and the United States?

Answer: I have to admit that we had too little time to discuss economic problems. But we have a very high-ranking working group. It has held two sessions and produced good recommendations.

Question: When you were discussing conventional armaments, did you touch upon those weapons which lend themselves especially to a surprise attack?

Answer: Well, this was addressed. But a more detailed, a more specific and thorough discussion of that took place at the meeting between our ministers of defense. And this is quite natural, because they discussed the question of military doctrines, and it is known that military doctrine is the basis for all military activity [stroitelstvo]. And it is good that our defense ministers have met. This is an event which is unprecedented in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Question: We understand President Reagan handed you a list of 17 dissidents who wanted to emigrate. When will your country allow them to emigrate?

Answer: I have not yet read the list. I have the paper, but I have not yet been able to. And if there is a legitimate reason for them to leave, there will be no obstacles.

Question: You said that the United States has shown no great enthusiasm to discuss conventional arms. Are we to understand that there will be no agreement concerning conventional arms? And why were you surprised at that?

Answer: No, I did not say that there will be no agreement. Now what is involved here is, first of all, the negotiations now underway in Vienna to agree on the mandate and the specific subject matter of the negotiations to take place on conventional arms. As you may have noticed, Mikhail Gorbachev said that there was too much loose talk about the discrepancies [disproportsiya], imbalances, asymmetries, and so on. So he suggested that we should lay out our cards on the table and begin negotiations. So what we are now proposing is to do that even before the negotiations on the reduction of conventional arms begin, to lay cards on the table. And I think this is a very appropriate and fair approach.

Question: And the U.S. was not interested in doing that?

Answer: They responded without enthusiasm. And this is to put it mildly, as I have said.

Question: You mentioned mobile missiles. Is the U.S. still pressing to ban those missiles? And if I may, I have a follow-up question on your remarks on naval forces. Might we conclude from your remarks that, in the negotiations in Vienna on the forces from the Atlantic to the Urals, you want to include naval forces, such as the U.S. Fleet in the Mediterranean?

Answer: As for mobile strategic arms, this is a question that is being discussed. The United States actually is not insisting on the ban. We are discussing all aspects of that question. We are discussing ceilings, methods of verification, exchanges of information, and so on. As for your second question, at the Vienna meeting the question of naval forces is not being discussed. The question of naval forces will be discussed at what we call Stockholm II, that is to say, the second conference on confidence-building measures. But we have proposed today to convene an international conference on problems relating to a reduction in naval forces. At least we believe there should be a special session of the Security Council of the United Nations to discuss this question.

Question: Give us an evaluation of your visit. Everyone is hopeful for a treaty to be signed in Moscow. But tell us, on a scale of 1 to 10 where are we today? Secondly, how far does the discussion of strategic defensive weapons issues influence the discussion on SDI?

Answer: I cannot guarantee that a treaty will be signed in Moscow. There is a possibility, given the requisite willingness on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States. Particularly given enough political will, such a treaty can be prepared. As for SDI, I think you must know, that there is an incompatibility between SDI and the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972. We insist that the ABM Treaty should be preserved, and hence our attitude toward SDI.

Question: Aren't you satisfied with the U.S. interpretation of the ABM Treaty?

Answer: It is no accident that we are stressing that the treaty should be observed as signed in 1972. This is the best interpretation.

Question: The question is about President Reagan's visit, whether he will be in Moscow or he would go to some other cities or city of the Soviet Union?

Answer: As you know, Muscovites are very hospitable people. We have suggested various options for the President, but as I understand it his choices are limited, but there is still time to go before the visit, and things might change. But I think both of us are sure the President will be worthily received in any corner of the Soviet Union.

Question: You said there is still linkage between SDI and the ABM Treaty. Is there still linkage between the resolution of the ABM problem and the START treaty?

Answer: Of course there is. There will be no treaty on the 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive arms if there is no observance of the ABM Treaty, at least for an agreed period of time. This is the condition as agreed at the highest level, there is nothing new here.

Question: Is there any progress on the nonwithdrawal period, from the ABM Treaty, the differences between the two sides on that?

Answer: The difference here is not very big. I feel that there can be agreement on the period of nonwithdrawal.

Question: I would like to ask you about Afghanistan. As we understand it, a new issue was raised at the last minute—the question of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. THE NEW YORK TIMES cited some unspecified Soviet diplomat as being very displeased with this development. Did this come up in your talks?

Answer: No, this question was not discussed at our negotiations. This is to be discussed at the Afghan-Pakistan talks.

Question: One more question on Afghanistan. With no agreement on symmetry on weapons shipments, with no U.S. guarantee for the Geneva talks, will the Soviet Union continue its plans on withdrawal, and if so, when will you begin?

Answer: The Afghan question can be resolved without U.S. guarantees.

Question: The administration has said that that is not a practical solution because if Pakistan signs the Geneva accords, the United States would, in effect, be cut off from supplying the mujahidin while the Soviet Union could continue to supply its ally, the Afghan Government. Can you say whether you rule out the possibility of reaching an understanding that would provide the symmetry being sought by the United States, in other words, a joint cutoff of U.S. supplies to the mujahidin at the same time the Soviet Union ceases to supply the Afghan Government?

Answer: I rule this out. The Soviet Union has its obligations to the Afghan Government and that obligations are based on the status in a treaty—a treaty signed by the Soviet and Afghan Governments. Those are legitimate supplies, and we are not going to review that treaty. We have had this kind of relationship—such agreements with Afghanistan since 1921.

#### **Shultz on Talks With Shevardnadze, TU Ties** *PM221002 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 3*

[Reports by TASS and own correspondent V. Sisnev, plus editorial comment: "Interview With U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz"]

[Text] (TASS report) Washington, 18 Mar—On the eve of the forthcoming talks here with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz gave an interview to representatives of the press from socialist countries accredited to the American capital.

Shultz announced that a whole series of important questions of mutual interest will be discussed in the course of the talks. He expressed the hope that by the planned new Soviet-American summit meeting, the timing of which the sides will seek to agree on during the Soviet minister's stay in Washington, the U.S. Senate will, despite the struggle that still lies ahead, approve the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Asked whether the U.S. and NATO plans to modernize nuclear arms systems by way of "compensation" for the missiles eliminated under the treaty are contrary to the spirit of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Shultz claimed that there is nothing reprehensible in the Western allies' actions, "since the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries also seek to maintain their arms at an up-to-date level." These words from Shultz reflected the dual position of NATO, which, on the one hand, supports the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, but on the other displays a clear reluctance to move with the Soviet Union toward the total elimination of nuclear arms in Europe.

Answering questions about the prospects for the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, Shultz said that "the attainment of such a treaty by the time of the Moscow summit would be very desirable." "Both sides," he noted, "agree that very many problems exist and that it is very difficult to find a solution to them." Nonetheless, he said, "the possibility of concluding a treaty exists, and both sides seek to make it a probability, and then a reality."

The secretary of state cited as among the most complex problems in the course of talks on a strategic offensive arms agreement the quest for a solution to the "space defense" problem and the problem of the ABM Treaty, on which "nothing has yet been drafted and which belong more to the sphere of 'concepts.'" It must be noted that the drafting of such decisions is thwarted by the program being implemented by the United States for creating an ABM system with space-based components. The implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" would carry the arms race into space, jeopardize the ABM Treaty, and thereby wreck the opportunity for a radical reduction in strategic offensive arms.

The secretary of state was asked to report on the U.S. reaction to the proposal put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in the course of his visit to the SFRY aimed at lessening tension in one of the most explosive regions of the world—the Mediterranean, which proposes, in particular, that from 1 July of this year the number of ships and the potential of the naval forces of the USSR and the United States located there be frozen, and that limits then be set. Shultz avoided answering the question, stating that "it is better to roll up our sleeves and tackle the practicable matters that we are already working on."

In the course of the interview questions of the settlement of regional conflicts were touched on. The secretary of state was asked: How do you explain the fact that Washington is lagging behind the understanding reached at the Washington summit concerning the conditions for ending American military aid to opposition formations in Afghanistan?

Shultz denied that the United States is departing from the Soviet-American understanding. He spoke of "symmetry and equality as one of the key principles," and stated that the potential guarantors of an agreement on a settlement in Afghanistan—that is, the USSR and the United States—"have reached a consensus on noninterference in Afghanistan's affairs." "Arms deliveries in a conflict situation," the secretary of state said, "would be interference, and perhaps the Soviet Union things so too. In that case we could resolve this problem. In general, it is hard to say."

But it is not at all hard to understand that the continuation of American military aid to antigovernment formations in Afghanistan would help not to settle the conflict, but to drag it out.

[Own correspondent V. Sisnev report] All nine of the invited journalists had the opportunity to ask G. Shultz questions on subjects of interest to them. When it was the turn of TRUD's correspondent, a dialogue took place which is reproduced below word for word from a tape which was later checked against the official transcript.

TRUD correspondent: Mr Secretary of State. I represent the central Soviet trade union newspaper and I thank you for this opportunity to obtain at first hand an explanation on a question which I find mystifying. In talks with the Soviet foreign minister, you ultimately talk about the desirability of better relations and closer ties. Moreover both you and President Reagan have repeatedly stressed the desirability of broader contacts between our two countries' people. But it is your department that, time after time or altogether, refuses visas to representatives of Soviet trade unions or issues them on condition that our trade union workers are not to enter into any contacts with their American colleagues. Where is the logic in that?

G. Shultz: The problem is this. What you call trade unions and what we call trade unions are different things.

TRUD correspondent: That is not important. You cannot decide for us what our trade unions should be.

G. Shultz: You can compare apples with apples, not apples with pears. So that is where the root of the problem is, in part. But of course, some Soviet trade union figures have come to our country. All the same, our trade union movement has different views on what is the basis of trade unions and what their activity should be. That is the reason for our attitude. Our trade unions



have stated that they would like to receive the people they themselves choose. On these conditions they could also receive those whom you choose. A fundamental disagreement exists about the nature of the trade union movement, and that is one manifestation of it.

TRUD correspondent: Only yesterday I interviewed William Winpisinger, chairman of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. He told me—for publication, incidentally—that he is offended by your attitude to the question of his right to invite guests from Soviet trade unions and that he has written to you to that effect.

G. Shultz: He is offended by my attitude to this?

TRUD correspondent: Not yours personally, of course, but that of the State Department, which has several times prevented visits by representatives of Soviet trade unions invited by that trade union. In March of last year, for instance.

G. Shultz: Well, he should discuss that with the leadership of his federation, with Lane Kirkland. There is a difference of opinion, but I think our viewpoint is correct.

TRUD correspondent: Does that mean that the AFL-CIO is to blame, and not the State Department?

G. Shultz: No, we agree with the AFL-CIO. Our country consists of a large number of different groups, and we have a deep respect for our free trade unions. When questions connected with the trade union movement arise, we attach great significance to the trade unions' opinion. [Sisnev report ends]

Comment from the editorial office: The U.S. secretary of state did not succeed in dispelling our perplexity. He claims that his department "attaches great significance to the (American) trade unions' opinion." But invitations received by Soviet trade union representatives to meet with their colleagues in the United States also represent the American trade unions' opinion. Yet since 1981 on, around 20 occasions the State Department has disregarded those opinions and refused visas to representatives of Soviet working people and trade unions. Perhaps this only happened because in each such case L. Kirkland's personal approval was not given? As a result the impression formed is this: The department headed by the secretary of state does not, by all appearances, intend to renounce its discriminatory policy with regard to both Soviet and American trade unions.

**White House Spokesman on Upcoming Summit**  
LD250544 Moscow TASS in English 0538 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 25 TASS—The White House has expressed confidence that the upcoming meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary

of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan will be "quite productive" and help resolve a number of important issues.

This confidence is based on the talks held in Washington by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said.

One of the main results of the talks, he said, was that the sides had no more doubts concerning each other's stands. "We made enough progress to keep going," Fitzwater said.

He said that success of ministerial meetings was in understanding and clarifying the positions of the sides on some issues. He said the United States and the Soviet Union had achieved much progress in this respect with regard to Afghanistan and an agreement on strategic offensive armaments.

**Baker on Senate INF Ratification Hope**  
PM211649 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA  
in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In Support of the Treaty"]

[Text] Washington, 16 Mar—White House Chief of Staff H. Baker has expressed confidence that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed at the Washington summit meeting will be approved by the U.S. Senate.

"The debate now is certainly not over whether this treaty will be ratified," he told representatives of the "Prime Ministers Club" organization in Washington Tuesday, "but over whether attempts will be made to attach amendments and provisos to it which would require new talks on the agreement." "I hope and believe that the Senate will not do that," the White House chief of staff declared.

H. Baker emphasized that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which "for the first time will remove an entire class of nuclear arms from the face of the earth," is "a real landmark" for the whole world and "could mark the start of mankind's efforts aimed at considerably reducing the threat of nuclear war."

This week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee plans to complete its hearings on the subject.

**'Pauses' in INF Ratification Process Deplored**  
PM241315 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 12, 20 Mar 88 p 5

[Melor Sturua article: "INF Treaty Update. How Goes the U.S. Ratification?"]

[Text] Reporting on how ratification of the INF Treaty is proceeding in the U.S. Senate, I nearly wrote that it is the centre of attention—for the U.S. public and, naturally, Congress.

Unfortunately, that isn't the case. Americans are currently immersed in the presidential primaries, while the administration and Congress are caught up with the regional conflicts in Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the Middle East tour of Secretary of State George Shultz and the situation in Panama. Isn't this because of the firm conviction that Senate ratification of the INF Treaty is a "foregone conclusion"? Preliminary polls show that a qualified majority—two-thirds—needed for ratification is already available, that obvious opponents of the treaty number about 10 or 12.

Do these optimistic numbers add up to a positive political outlook? Not at all. Let's start with the time factor. Dragging out the ratification process means dragging out the process of disarmament, which creates an unfavourable atmosphere at the strategic offensive arms talks. A long, drawn-out process also increases the risk of situations which could frustrate ratification (recall what happened to the SALT-II treaty).

Recently American warships "strayed" into Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea. As retired Rear-Admiral Eugene Carroll, deputy director of the Defense Information Center, rightly wrote in *THE WASHINGTON POST*, in case of a mutually destructive clash or a nuclear disaster, "the INF Treaty, now in a difficult voyage through troubled waters in the U.S. Senate, might very well have been the first casualty". There are more than enough "troubled waters" in current international life.

The time factor is being aggravated by the so-called hostage factor. The senators, blackmailing the administration, are forcing concessions for the "interest groups" they represent on Capitol Hill. As usual, these concessions are not conducive to the lessening of international tensions. On February 29, the Senate approved a resolution demanding that the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan be "acceptable" to the armed opposition in Kabul and that the USA not stop its aid to the opposition unless the Soviet Union stops "all forms" of aid to the present Afghan Government. Since this resolution is not binding, Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (Dem.) threatened to make ratification of the INF Treaty a hostage to the continuation of military aid. Byrd said that the Senate in full complement would not start debates on the treaty unless the administration assured it that aid would not be stopped "prematurely" and unless it knew the terms of the Geneva agreements. Unfortunately, this kind of "hostage-taking" sometimes suits the administration and, in some cases, is even encouraged.

Aside from being dangerous in and of itself, "hostage-taking" may also poison the international atmosphere and create objective difficulties in ratifying the treaty. Added to this are the malicious concoctions spread by the treaty's opponents—that the Soviet Union has allegedly "kept back" more than 150 SS-20 missiles or that the USSR has deployed medium-range missiles in Cuba!

"Good intentions" have also produced some obstacles. Democratic leaders, headed by Senators Byrd and Sam Nunn, demanded assurances from the administration that it would on no account depart from the treaty's provisions in the form of which they are submitted to the Senate, that is, would not resort to its "broad" interpretation as happened with the ABM Treaty. Shultz assured the Senate of this in writing and sent along 31 volumes of documents relating to negotiating that led to the treaty's conclusion. Nunn said he didn't know how long it would take the Committee on Armed Services, which he heads, to complete its work. In the meantime, the Committee sent a list of 135 questions concerning possible interpretations of the treaty.

Finally, NATO's "compensation" tendencies must be assessed as a negative factor. Their meaning is to restore, under the pretext of "modernization", the nuclear potential eliminated under the INF Treaty. A return to the "position-of-strength" policy also corresponds rather dubiously with the intensive treaty ratification process.

Ratification hearings have now resumed in the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services. They are open to the public. In addition, closed hearings are being held in the special Intelligence Committee. According to statements by the three committees chairmen, the treaty will be recommended to the Senate for ratification. Despite the numerous obstacles, there is hope that the treaty will be ratified after all. Ratification is supported by the overwhelming majority of American public, and President Reagan is seeking it owing to objective and subjective considerations. The question is when will this "after all" come. The pauses, especially protracted ones, do not benefit the nuclear disarmament process. Mankind, it should be remembered, is living on borrowed time.

#### **Kornilov Criticizes U.S. Human Rights Remarks**

*LD241654 Moscow TASS International Service  
in Russian 1110 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—TASS political observer Yuri Kornilov writes:

The more thoroughly the public analyzes the results of the 44th UN commission session on human rights, which has ended in Geneva, the more obvious it becomes how serious the violations of such rights in a number of Western countries, primarily the United States, are. Much of the mass media is expressing concern over the policy and practices that have found root in the United States of racial discrimination, inequality, suppression of civil and political freedoms, and the use of the police repression apparatus for the persecution of supporters of equal rights and participants in the antiwar struggle. Sharp criticism is being made of the postulate being whipped up by Washington that, as they say, the chief thing is political rights, while socioeconomic rights are something of third-rate significance, not requiring guarantees.

This "thesis," if one may call it one, is intended to justify such facts that in a "free" and "democratic" America thousands and thousands of people are deprived of the right to work; the numbers of homeless has reached almost 3 million; more than 75 percent of the country's indigenous population, Indians, go hungry; while the incomes of "black" Americans on average come to little more than 50 percent of the incomes of whites....

It is also quite symptomatic that the United States ratified only 6 out of 22 of the most important international documents on human rights. It is precisely Washington that is behind a number of militaristic, dictatorial regimes which, in essence, are waging war against their own people, as is the case in Chile or South Africa. It is precisely Washington that is to be found behind the Israeli aggressors, pursuing a policy of terror and genocide on the Arab territories they occupy. Incidentally, let me recall that the U.S. delegation was the only one that voted against a resolution condemning Israel during the UN Human Rights Commission session....

Such are the facts, indubitable and controvertible. However, the stronger the concern the international public shows in connection with these facts, the more often Washington's unwritten "rule" comes into play: If things are none too good at home, try and put the blame and responsibility on others. And, lo and behold, a voluminous work, entitled "Report on the Practice and Observance of Human Rights in Various Countries in 1987," a document in which the authors quite groundlessly attempt to teach all and sundry about the "foundations of democracy," is being compiled within the State Department. Thus, in Vienna, where the latest round of the meeting of CSCE representatives is coming to a close, W. Zimmermann, the head of the U.S. delegation, rehashing the postulates from the State Department's "report," attacks the USSR and other socialist states, charging them with allegedly impeding progress in solving problems on human rights....

There is no need to refute these hollow accusations: The whole world knows and sees how the restructuring, underway in the USSR, deals one blow after another to the stereotypes of "secrecy" and "undemocratic nature" of Soviet society concocted in the propaganda kitchens of the West. However, Washington's unceasing attempts to give others "lessons in democracy," its lack of tolerance toward any views and assessments of human rights problems that are different to those in the United States naturally give rise to the question: What are those in Washington, who with an assiduity deserving of a better application and attempting to make use of these problems to fan enmity and enhance confrontation, trying to achieve?

The Washington "peace fighters," who try to ascribe their own sins to others, would do well to start with themselves. At the same time, they should proceed from

the fact that, when discussing human rights in international forums, it is time to abandon the so-called "denouncing" manner of dialogue in which they accuse and try to teach others. The public expects from Washington not a repetition of the antisocialist dogma and fabrications that set teeth on edge and have long been rejected, but a readiness for business-like debate and constructive cooperation. The public expects the sort of discussion and cooperation that would enable a contribution to be made to improving the lives of people everywhere, and not least in the United States.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Reportage on Rogachev Visit to Philippines

#### 'Friendly' Talks With Aquino

LD241859 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 24 TASS—President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines has received today Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is currently staying here for bilateral political consultations. In the course of the meeting Corazon Aquino expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the Soviet-Philippine talks in Manila, pointed out the usefulness of a joint examination of the international developments, in particular in the Asia-Pacific region as well as questions pertaining to bilateral relations. The sides were unanimous that the forthcoming official visit to the USSR of the president of the Republic of the Philippines will give an important impetus to a further development of a political dialogue, interaction and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Philippines in various fields. It has been agreed that the time of the visit will be specified through diplomatic channels.

Corazon Aquino was briefed on the present state of Soviet-American relations, on prospects for reaching by them an agreement on a reduction of strategic offensive weapons in the light of the talks which ended in Washington between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and President Ronald Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. In an exchange of views on the situation in Asia and the Pacific Basin, the president of the Philippines was told that the Soviet Union will carry on a consistent struggle for reducing the level of military confrontation, building up confidence and developing cooperation in the region on the basis of the programme put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok. The USSR supports the efforts of the countries of that area which are aimed at creating peace and nuclear free zones.

Taking part in the meeting, which proceeded in a warm friendly atmosphere, was USSR ambassador to the Philippines O. Sokolov.

### **Urges Spratley Island Settlement**

HK250605 Hong Kong AFP in English 0554 GMT  
22 Mar 88

[Text] Manila, March 25 (AFP)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev called Friday for prompt talks between China and Vietnam to settle their dispute over the Spratly Islands which flared into a clash this month.

He issued the call at a news conference one day after China rejected a Vietnamese offer of talks after a clash between their forces March 14 in the strategically-situated archipelago in the South China Sea.

"Negotiations between the parties concerned should be started as soon as possible. These problems cannot be solved by using force, and in this sense we support our Vietnamese friends," said Mr. Rogachev, who was on the fourth day of a visit here.

The Soviet Union is Vietnam's top ally and has the use of naval and air facilities in Vietnam.

(In Hanoi Friday newspapers said 74 Vietnamese servicemen were missing after the clash and Vietnamese sources said that about half of them could be dead.)

The islands are also claimed by the Philippines, Malaysia and Taiwan. Manila, which occupies eight of the Spratlys, has also called on China and Vietnam to settle their dispute peacefully and warned both to stay off the portion of the archipelago claimed by Manila.

## **Near East & South Asia**

### **Afghan-Pakistan Peace Talks Continue in Geneva**

#### **Work on 'Final Drafts'**

LD251246 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 25 TASS—The Afghan-Pakistani talks through Diego Cordovez, a personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, are going on at the Geneva Palais de Nations.

Quarters close to the negotiations point out that Diego Cordovez continues active efforts to make final drafts of four basic documents of a future agreement.

However, the non-constructive position of the Pakistani side prevents the talks from ending successfully. It insists, as before, on a solution (within these negotiations) of issues pertaining to establishment of the so-called interim government and to linking an end to the U.S. military aid to armed opposition groups with discontinuation of traditional Soviet assistance to the Afghan Republic. These questions are known to have been not on the agenda of the talks.

### **Talks Resume 'Next Week'**

LD251345 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 25 TASS—Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. Secretary general, told journalists here today that the Afghan-Pakistani talks would be continued next week. He made the statement right after today's meeting with the heads of the Afghan and Pakistani delegations.

### **Najibullah Remarks Cited**

PM251031 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
20 Mar 88 p 3

[Report by G. Musayelyan: "Peace on Your House"]

[Excerpt] Kabul-Moscow—[Passage omitted] The constructive proposals contained in the statements of M.S. Gorbachev and Afghan President Najibullah are aimed precisely at ending the fratricidal war and achieving national reconciliation on Afghan soil. They were a vivid example of the new political thinking and displayed readiness for a genuine settlement in this "hot spot" on the planet.

As is known, to promote the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks being held in Geneva, the Soviet and Afghan Governments announced a specific date for the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal—15 May. The duration of this operation was laid down—10 months (it was later reduced to 9 months—G.M.). The date itself was defined by proceeding from the premise that agreements on a political settlement would be concluded no later than 15 March and come into force simultaneously 2 months after being signed. At the same time, the sides agreed that half the Soviet troops would return home during the first 3 months. There seemed to be no more obstacles to the Afghan people greeting this year's Now Ruz [Afghan New Year, celebrated 21 March] in a new atmosphere, in expectation of the real peace which the signing of agreements could bring to Afghan soil. However, as reports from Geneva testify, the Pakistani and U.S. sides have embarked on a path of procrastination, delaying a solution to the Afghan problem. And yet the new initiatives advanced by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan gave the "go-ahead" for its solution. Najibullah drew attention to this in talks with the author on these lines.

"An important and convincing step has been taken, aimed at accelerating the resolution of the Afghan problem in every possible way," he said. "The constructive new initiatives advanced simultaneously by Moscow and Kabul introduce full political clarity into the settlement of the situation in our country. The situation in and around Afghanistan has never been as open to resolution as it is now."



Najibullah evaluated highly the position of the Soviet Union, which back in 1919 was the first to recognize Afghanistan's independence and establish diplomatic relations with it and, later—in 1921—helped to strengthen Afghanistan's economy and defense capability by concluding a friendship treaty.

The president emphasized that the results of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva will be a test of the true intentions of those statesmen in the West and in the region who declare their desire for peace in Afghanistan. Delaying the signing of the Geneva accords under various farfetched pretexts, the United States and Pakistan have embarked on a path of creating various artificial obstacles. [passage omitted]

### **Border Issue Assailed**

*LD241503 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Kabul March 24 TASS—Afghanistan holds a constructive and flexible position at the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva. The Afghan side has confirmed this stance also on a central issue which Pakistan considered as the all-important one—the time-table for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops within nine months, says a report by BAKHTAR news agency.

Regrettably, the Pakistani delegation creates all manner of artificial impediments to signing final agreements. In its bid to delay the process of negotiations Pakistan undermines even the traditions that existed in relations between the two states for centuries. It makes attempts, in part, to impose for discussion the issue of the border between the two countries and this affects, first and foremost, the interests of Pashtuns.

In making attempts to divide the single Pashtun people, Pakistan should remember that Pashtuns will be united as ever. They have one history, one destiny and one future. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan exerts every effort to preserve the traditional ties on the borders, mutual solidarity and the union of the border tribes. And nobody can break this union.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan strongly condemns the intention to discuss at the negotiations in Geneva the border question and regards Pakistan's stance as one more attempt by Islamabad to land the talks into an impasse, the report emphasizes.

A rally in support of the initiatives of the Afghan and Soviet Governments aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan was held in the Afghan capital today. It involved authoritative representatives of Pashtun tribes residing both in Afghanistan and in the zone of free tribes in Pakistani territory.

Ajmal Khattak, a well-known public figure and poet, addressing the rally, stressed that Pakistan's stance at the Geneva negotiations was in conflict with the interests of peace and stability in the region.

Speakers at the rally noted that Islamabad intended to make the success of the Geneva negotiations dependent on the demand which, if met, would divide the Pashtun people into two parts for ever. The Pashtun people will never agree to this.

### **Border Tribes Rally in Kabul**

*LD241830 Moscow Television Service in Russian  
1530 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent M. Leshchinskiy]

[Text] A meeting of border tribe representatives took place in Kabul's Pashtunistan Square today. The coat of arms of Pashtunistan sits in the center of the square. It shows snowy peaks lit by a bright sun. Such are the peace symbols of this land on which the Afridi, Mohmand, Shinwari, and Baluchi peoples have lived from time immemorial. It is precisely in the zone of settlement of these tribes in the west of Pakistan that the main bulk of the military camps of the armed Afghan opposition, its arsenals, training bases, and the headquarters of its political parties, are concentrated. The Pakistan regime supports them in punitive actions against the free tribes and assists the expansion on age-old Pashtun lands of staging areas for aggression against Afghanistan. It permits the transportation of weapons to the neighboring country, which all Pashtuns look upon as their common home. On its threshold they often become the first victims of the continuing war.

On behalf of all his fellow tribesmen, the well-known leader of the Pashtun National Movement Ajmal Khat-tak sharply condemned the position of the Pakistani side, which is hampering progress in the Geneva talks. Not a single self-respecting tribe will permit a government, a state system to be imposed on it from outside. This question must be resolved and is being resolved by the Afghans themselves. Pakistan further demands the cessation of Soviet military aid to Afghanistan, he continued, but in that case let U.S. military aid to Islamabad also stop. We are personally experiencing its size and strength. The Pakistani army shells the Pashtuns' villages with U.S. missiles. U.S. guns and tanks destroy our crops and the walls of our dwellings.

Representatives of all free border troops, who had come to Pashtunistan Square in Kabul, demanded the earliest possible completion of the Geneva talks and vigorous actions to achieve a political settlement of the region's problems.

**Keshtmand Discusses Current Afghan Economy**  
*LD241109 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*  
*1330 GMT 23 Mar 88*

[Text] Afghanistan has seen in the new year. The 1,360th year passed into the country's history as the year of practical implementation of the course of national reconciliation. But what did it bring in terms of social and economic development and the living standards of Afghan people? Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, asked Sultan Ali Keshtmand, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan:

[Begin Keshtmand recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] In the year that has passed, despite the complex conditions of the undeclared war, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan strove to actively resolve tasks connected with ensuring the fulfillment of established plans for economic and social development, the state budget, and ensuring a rise in the living standards of the Afghan people. Special attention was paid to wheat purchases. As a result more than 170,000 tonnes were brought for the domestic market. Such a purchase level was achieved for the first time in the entire history of our country. We saw an increase in our industrial production output, so important for the national economy, of coal, cement, bricks, and crushed stone. Production of electricity and of many types of goods from the light and food industries grew. A significant program of capital construction was fulfilled. In the past, large measures were implemented to increase the living standards of the Afghan people. Thus, for example, the pay of servicemen, the armed forces, and all ranks of troops was increased. State subsidies for feeding state industrial, office, and professional workers increased one and a half times. The free issue of coupons for grain, flour, and fats was introduced for state industrial, office, and professional workers, and for invalids of the revolution and of labor, and pensioners.

Taken as a whole, to appraise these measures, they raised the living standards of about 4 million of our citizens. This is one of our largest achievements and was all carried out in the course of 1 year. I must note that these and other successes became possible thanks to the fraternal assistance of our northerly neighbor, the Soviet Union. [end recording]

**U.S. 'Urges' Israeli Military Strikes on Arabs**  
*LD241934 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT*  
*24 Mar 88*

["Connivance at the Aggressor—Commentary"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Asilyev writes:

Israeli aircraft rocketed and bombed the (?outskirts) of the south Lebanese town of Sidon on Wednesday, causing casualties among civilians, destroying the municipal power station, and leaving a number of southern areas of the country (?without electricity).

Noteworthy is the fact that the new air raid against the sovereign Arab country was made immediately following the return of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir from Washington where he had held weeklong talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz.

Upon returning, the prime minister praised the atmosphere of "friendship and mutual understanding" during the discussions between the partners for the strategic (?anti)-Arab alliance.

This year's third air bombardment of the south of Lebanon virtually became the first result of the "mutual understanding", and showed again that the United States, which holds fully pro-Israeli positions, actually connives at the aggressor and urges it on to new criminal actions against (?Arab) neighbours.

Tel Aviv persists in the occupation of the "security zone" which it has set up in defiance of the U.N. Security Council's resolutions which call for unconditional withdrawal (?of Israeli) troops from Lebanon. Upon having changed the international border, Israel has already annexed part of Lebanese territory and is obviously insatiable in its expansionist ambitions. The Israeli military brazenly assumed a certain right unceremoniously to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon and in every way destabilize the situation in that country which is being torn asunder by the civil war.

The Lebanese patriots have not been subdued by the repressive actions of the Israelis, and are unwilling to put up with the Israeli occupation of the country's south. Reports about new strikes which they deliver against the invaders and their followers from among the so-called "South Lebanon Army" (SLA) come in every day. The struggle of the Lebanese against the Israeli occupation, and for the independence and sovereignty of their country enjoys the support of Arab and international (?circles) at large and is an integral part of the Arabs' struggle against Zionism's and imperialism's intrigues in the Middle East.

**Statement by New PLO Representative to USSR**  
*LD241959 Moscow International Service in Arabic*  
*1530 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] (Nabil 'Umar), the new PLO representative in the Soviet Union, has begun his diplomatic mission in Moscow. Comrade (Nabil 'Umar) received our reporter and made a statement, which we present to you now:

[Begin ('Umar) recording] I feel happy to represent the Palestinian people, the Palestinian revolution, the PLO and its chairman, Brother Yasir 'Arafat, to the friendly Soviet Union, its peoples and its leadership, headed by Comrade President Gorbachev [title as heard].

Without doubt the PLO always seeks to continue dialogue, coordination, and consultations with the Soviet leadership in all affairs of mutual interest, and naturally with particular regard to the situation in the Middle East and the Palestinian question. In this context, I and my colleagues at the PLO mission in Moscow hope to make a positive contribution at this level, taking into consideration the fact that the PLO and the Palestinian people are deeply aware of the importance of the Soviet Union as a great power that takes part in the making of major world decisions.

The Soviet Union offers its principled and sincere support for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, for the Palestinian revolution, and for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative. This gives the difficult struggle waged by the Palestinian people great possibilities for continuing, escalating, and advancing.

As you know, Soviet comrades, I come to Moscow to take up my job as PLO representative at a time of a new political stage, if one may call it so, in the Middle East, or concerning the Middle East. What is new is the deep reactions caused by the continuous and escalating uprising of our people in the occupied homeland, the uprising that has significantly resubmitted the Palestinian question in a more serious way than ever before. It has even forced the United States—which regrettably had been refusing to look positively into any matter concerning the Palestinian people—to move quickly, in our view, in an attempt to contain this uprising, to prevent it from escalating and further affecting the Zionist-Israeli, and even the U.S. situation in the region.

Undoubtedly in the PLO we now represent the national consensus of the Palestinian people, whether at the level of national political forces or that of popular forces. We in the PLO agree with the Soviet comrades on the correct line leading to a lasting, genuine, and just peace in the Middle East, a peace based on the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and setting up an independent state, through the formula of an effective and substantive international conference, as some are trying to propose or work for, an effective international conference with the participation of the UN Security Council permanent members, in addition to the interested parties in the conflict, including, naturally, the PLO.

We agree also that the time has come for those who have tried to impose Camp David-type solutions, those who have imagined that they could impose a fait accompli on the Palestinian people and the world, the time has come for them to abandon this belief which, with the new

situation caused by the uprising, has become just obsolete illusions that have no place for effectively dealing with the Middle East question.

I carry the greetings of my people, of those who are staging the uprising with stones in the occupied territories and facing the Israeli repression with all bravery, I carry the greetings of my leadership, headed by Brother Yasir 'Arafat, to every Soviet citizen, to every official in the Soviet Union, to the party and the government, to President Gorbachev, for whom we Palestinians and Arabs harbor all respect, appreciation, and admiration, in consideration for the political steps aimed at exercising Soviet influence on regional and even on international issues.

We are looking forward with all optimism to the future of Palestinian-Soviet relations, proceeding from the fact that they are firm and principled relations. We never forget the Soviet support for the unity of the PLO. We do not forget the Soviet support at the international level for the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We do not forget that in all difficult times we find in the Soviet Union a real and sincere friend that cannot bargain on the principled positions it holds toward the Palestinian people and their just cause.

Thank you. [end recording]

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Petrovskiy Concludes Talks in Zimbabwe

#### 'Complete Identity of Views'

LD242246 Moscow TASS in English 2145 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Harare March 24 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, completed his visit to Zimbabwe today.

He delivered an oral message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Robert Mugabe, the president of the country, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and also held political consultations with representatives of the Zimbabwean leadership on issues concerning international security, disarmament, and a peaceful settlement of (?crisis situations) and regional conflicts.

During detailed talks with Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwean minister of foreign affairs, and leading officials of the Ministry, Vladimir Petrovskiy explained the Soviet Union's stand on matters aimed at establishing a comprehensive system of peace and international security.

An important role which the UN and other international organisations are called upon to play in this process was specially pointed out.

It was emphasized, in particular, that the Soviet Union regarded the Non-Aligned Movement as a powerful factor in the generation of the principles of equality and universal security and in their constructive assertion in the world arena. The talks revealed complete identity of views of the two sides on the main issues discussed.

The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR also spoke at the University of Zimbabwe and gave a press conference for local and foreign journalists. He informed those present in detail of the Soviet peaceful foreign policy at the present stage.

It was emphasized that restructuring and new thinking in international relations were essential in the discussion of global issues and the solution of regional conflicts.

### **U.S. Mediation Not Opposed**

LD242159 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] [No place name as received] March 24 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union believes it is high time to solve the problems of Africa's south, which is unimaginable without the removal of apartheid, a ranking Soviet official stated here today. The Soviet Union does not oppose the mediatory role of the U.S. in the region, he said.

Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told a news conference in Harare that the Soviet Union fully supports the front-line countries and liberation movements which believe that the most urgent and vital task is the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

Vladimir Petrovskiy presented Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe with a personal message from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. During his stay in Harare, Petrovskiy had political consultations with Foreign Ministry officials.

### **East Europe**

#### **More on Transfer of Soviet Forces' Missile Base**

LD241512 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Waren March 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent M. Voronenkov: A former missile base of Soviet forces in the German Democratic Republic, from which Soviet shorter-range systems were removed recently, will be turned on July 1 into a new rest home run by trade unions, it was announced at a rally in the city of Waren.

Harry Tisch, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) and chairman of the Central Board of the Association of Free German Trade Unions, there was handed the government's certificate to this effect.

The certificate was passed on to him by General of the Army Heinz Kessler, a member of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee and national defense minister of the GDR.

Speaking on behalf of the 9.5 million trade union members in this country, Tisch expressed gratitude to the party's Central Committee and the government for this gesture revealing concern for working people's leisure.

Waren Mayor Konrad Schwarz told TASS the former missile base is situated in an area near Lake Mueritz which has traditionally been popular with holiday-makers. There already are several rest homes there, which can cater for more than 80,000 vacationers at one time.

#### **PZPR's Siwicki Visits Soviet Northern Forces**

PM161307 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Bunin report: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] Army General F. Siwicki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish national defense minister, visited the servicemen of the Northern Group of Forces. Marshal of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov and Colonel General V. Utkin accompanied him to the "X" garrison.

A conversation took place during which Lieutenant General I. Korbutov, commander of the Northern Group of Forces, talked about how restructuring is progressing in Soviet units and subunits and how the socialist pledges adopted in honor of the coming 19th All-Union Party Conference are being fulfilled. Army General F. Siwicki in turn told his brothers in arms about the country's position, the economic reform, how the Polish people are implementing the tasks set by the 10th PZPR Conference, and the progress in combat training in units and subunits of the Polish Army. An exchange of opinions took place on the problems of educating the personnel in the revolutionary, labor, and combat traditions of the fraternal armies and peoples and on ways to improve combat cooperation and to strengthen collaboration between the servicemen of the Northern Group of Forces and the servicemen of the Polish Forces.

#### **Hungary's Kadar on Reforms, Party Conference**

PM171635 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "J. Kadar's Speech"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Mar—The broad process of public reforms and measures to renew socioeconomic life in the USSR and other socialist countries are a decisive factor in international life. The MSZMP, which is an active



supporter of democratization, renewal, and reform, is part of this process. MSZMP General Secretary J. Kadar stated this at a meeting held here with Hungarian agricultural leaders.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is, he pointed out, helping to preserve world peace and expand international cooperation.

Dwelling on questions of domestic policy development, the Hungarian leader pointed out that three questions are now at the center of political work: analysis of the economy at the beginning of the year, renewal of party activity and improvement of the system of political institutes, and preparation for the national party conference. This forum will examine topical questions of socialist building and will determine tasks intended to successfully fulfill the program for stabilization and for Hungary's socioeconomic development.

#### **Describes Main Tasks**

PM240917 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Statement by J. Kadar"]

[Text] Budapest, 18 Mar—The process of profound transformations and renewal under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries must lead to concrete results in the practice of socialist building and to the improvement of the international climate. MSZMP General Secretary J. Kadar stated this in an interview with Hungarian television, Hungarian radio, and MTL.

He said that the realistic approach to both questions of socialist development and also the resolution of important international problems has become a most important indicator of the changes in the fraternal countries. The results of the Soviet Union's activity in this direction have been broadly reflected in the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Joint speeches by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states are based on a real assessment of international politics and the desire to secure mutual security at the lowest level of armaments. The improvement in the international situation and the strengthening of peace on our planet are creating favorable conditions for the Hungarian people's constructive labor.

Referring to questions of domestic policy development, the MSZMP general secretary noted that the Hungarian people have to resolve a whole series of major tasks, which will demand sustained labor and a change in work style and methods. Attention must be devoted to further strengthening the system of political institutions and improving their activity. A struggle-tempered party and a politically mature Hungarian society are the guarantee that the tasks facing the country will be successfully resolved.

J. Kadar stressed that the main tasks for the upcoming national party conference are the consolidation and development of the results which the country has secured in the course of socialist building and progress along this path.

**'Revelation' of Bulgarian Elections Described**  
PM151341 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Leonid Zhmyrev dispatch under the rubric "Viewpoint": "With Open Doors"]

[Text] Sofia—Holding a single watermelon under his arm, a villager offers it to the local kmet (village council chairman):

"Choose which one you want."

"What choice is there when you have only one watermelon?" the chairman says in bewilderment.

"But you were our only candidate for the post of chairman, you know..."

A Bulgarian newspaper portrayed this little scene at the height of the election campaign for the local organs of power. The elections were held 28 February. What did they show? Let us start with the fact that these elections were held in an unusual situation. They were preceded by changes to the electoral law adopted by the National Assembly. For the first time in more than 40 years of electoral practice in socialist Bulgaria the possibility emerged of nominating two or more (no limit on the number) candidates for a single elective post.

But having a formal right and having the possibility of realizing that right are two different things. This was shown by the election campaign. A month before the elections Grigor Stoichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Bulgarian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, pointed out from the rostrum of the BCP national conference that just 25 percent of electoral regions had used their right to nominate two or more candidates for people's councils.

Why was this? I believe various reasons played a role. The unpreparedness of the population—those who elect and those who are elected—for such an abrupt and in some ways unexpected change had an effect. People evidently still have rather little experience of democracy. For it, too, has its own history, traditions, and level of culture.

And again. The forces of inertia and pressure "from above" have not been overcome. The Bulgarian press has written extensively and openly about this.

On election day I observed the close of the electoral commission's work in Sofia's "Lozenets" commune. At 1800, when voting ended, the doors of the polling station

in the G. Rakovski School were opened to all wishing to be present at the opening of the ballot boxes and the counting of votes "for" and "against" candidates. Old Communists, members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, figures in the Fatherland Front, and other people—those who had the time and the desire to be present at the new procedure provided for by the changes to the electoral law—positioned themselves on chairs and benches around the members of the electoral commission.

So, for the first time in the entire history of elections in the People's Republic of Bulgaria votes were counted with the doors open, before the eyes of the people's representatives in the informal sense of the phrase. What did the results show?

In the country as a whole 99.15 percent of voters participated in the elections. A high percentage.

Some 89.06 percent voted for deputies for oblast people's councils, and 89.10 percent for commune councils. On the whole, the voters' support appears very impressive and far weightier than in elections in certain Western countries, for example. And yet, you will agree, we in our own socialist countries are now so accustomed to seeing just a set of "nines" in the final electoral documents that these present electoral "eights" are perceived almost as a revelation.

Some 13 deputies of oblast people's councils and the capital's people's council, 157 deputies of commune people's councils, and 132 kmetsvo people's councillors were not elected. Some 31 kmets (village council chairmen) also were not elected.

Failure in an election is a lesson both for those who are not elected and for those who nominate such candidates. Of course, I do not mean candidates who were forced in open competition for votes to concede to another (or a third) but those whose candidacies were imposed "from above" in the spirit of the old approaches. An instructive conclusion for the future.

On the whole, these elections aroused the population's genuine, sincere interest. An important step has been taken on the path of realizing the thesis proclaimed in the BCP Central Committee July (1987) Plenum decisions and enshrined in the documents of this year's national party conference: "From power in the people's name to power for the people themselves!"

**Yugoslav Experts Describe Economic Policies**  
*PM181221 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English*  
*No 11, 13 Mar 88 p 7*

[Viktor Tsoppi report: "The Yugoslav Model: Its Pluses, Minuses, Prospects..."]

[Text] We journalists are not really enthusiastic yet about giving up a touching view of world socialism. But it is about time we stopped looking at the real picture of socialism's varied models in the present-day world through the frosty glass of partialities and prejudices.

These were the thoughts that preoccupied me when I went to Yugoslavia. I reminisced that my generation's vision of the world had taken shape in those years—difficult for our relations—when Yugoslav Communists, our comrades, our like-minded fellows, our colleagues in the antinazi struggle, and revolutionaries, were described solely as a "clique of hirelings, traitors and spies". But in 1955, even before the 20th CPSU Congress, Nikita Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia, held friendly discussions with Josip Broz Tito and settled mutual relations. Nevertheless, for a fairly long time, we still had a biased attitude towards the socialist road chosen by Yugoslavia.

Time passed. Yugoslavia, which started building socialism by adopting the democratic method of self-management which flatly rejected the schemes of high-handed command, developed at a rapid pace, having reached the most advanced positions in many spheres.

...The crisis in Yugoslavia had been going from bad to worse, attended by mounting unemployment. International antagonisms were becoming ever more painful. There was a growing number of strikes. The hard-currency debt had rocketed. The standard of living had declined... I read about all this before my trip.

My first impression as a man in the street on arrival in Belgrade was that there was everything in the stores. Excellent food in nice packing, fashionable footwear and clothing; high prices, but no queues, agreeable people, hospitable and responsive.

But still, a crisis?

"Recently," I was told by Ciril Ribicic, Member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, whom I met in Ljubljana, "we have encountered considerable difficulties which cannot be dismissed off hand. We must think and analyze. Why, for instance, only a few years ago, was Yugoslavia's standard of living in many respects higher than that in neighbouring Austria or Italy? And why has it become perceptibly lower now?"

"There are several explanations for this phenomenon, and we Yugoslav Communists flatly reject the most widespread version—that the slump and crisis were triggered off by the very system of Yugoslav socialist self-management, which has finally revealed its unprofitable and archaic nature in the conditions of a worldwide and universal revolution in science and technology. We say: no, this is juggling with the facts. Self-management guarantees our development. Because this is a system of the working people's organized, conscious and concerned participation in the production of material values and in running society. We must achieve a harmonious and productive combination of self-management—the foundation of our socialist democratic system—and scientifically valid and economically expedient state administration ruling out arbitrary practices by the officialdom.

"There are many things that have to be reconsidered," Rubicic went on. "For instance, Yugoslavia is the first socialist country to have flung its door wide open to foreign capital. Now that this fruitful foreign capital has settled down and taken root on our soil, we surround it from all sides with all kinds of legislative protectionist restrictions, which are sometimes much stricter than even in the USSR. I am convinced that the objective laws of the market can neither be bypassed nor replaced with anything else, like, for example, the regulating function of the Party or the state. They cannot do any harm to socialism."

[Tsoppi] Among those in the West looking at perestroika in the USSR, there are some who say that nothing will come of it unless we renounce socialism in general. As if all the advantages have been and will invariably be on the side of the capitalist economy. As they see it, our system only has flaws. We, on the other hand, say that what we need is more socialism...

[Rubicic] "More socialism, this is the right orientation. The capitalist path of development is no good for us, no matter what they say. But what does it mean—to have 'more socialism'? We must restrict state intervention in economic processes. The state must not play the part of owner of the productive forces and the means of production. They must be controlled in real terms, with all the responsibility in the hands of the working people and their collectives."

"We in Yugoslavia have been paying close attention, as I would say, to the concept of perestroika developed in your country. We compare it with our own experience. In the past the Soviet comrades whom I happened to meet, if not condemned, then criticized us for the fact that in Yugoslavia the Party played a very weak role in guiding the economy, or for the fact that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) was indecisive in the sphere of management. Now our views are changing. The time has come for all of us to reconcile ideology with practice. They are at loggerheads solely through our own fault. After all, it is impossible to accept tacitly the contention that both the Yugoslav and the Soviet models of socialism have exhausted themselves. We have many common sources: the October Revolution, the emergence of such a form of democracy as the Soviets, Lenin's doctrine of the state..." [Rubicic ends]

...Volumes have been written about Yugoslav self-management. It is a subject of sharp polemics. I was greatly impressed by the talk I had with the editor-in-chief of SOCIJALIZAM magazine. Milija Komatina is a profound theoretician, both wise and witty, a sparkling polemist and a journalist of encyclopaedic erudition.

What, do you think, is modern socialism? I asked him.

[Komatina] "Ask me an easier question... If you remember, not so long ago some of our Western comrades proclaimed their intention to offer a new definition of

socialism, something like a 'third road'. They claimed that the potential of the world's first October Socialist Revolution had been depleted and that this event should be included in the category of entries at the museum of antiquities. In exchange, they offered nothing worth speaking about."

"I am convinced that the most urgent need for all socialist countries is to return to the fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism. You know as well as I that Lenin's ideas have now been questioned by many—in our country, and not only in our country. They contend that he was merely a precursor of Stalin or that Stalinism was unavoidable. But I am sure that this is simply a malicious view. Lenin's thought has not been exhausted by any means. It has not been placed, as it ought to have been, at the service of socialist practice."

"Indeed, in many socialist countries we are now witnessing the political factor taking precedence over economic, social and others. I'm referring to the Party-state bureaucracy. More often than not it pursues its own narrow interests and qualifies any infringement of them as an encroachment on the gains of the socialist revolution and on socialism, which makes it infallible and therefore omnipotent and unpunishable. And God forbid any pluralism of opinions appearing in society. But socialist society, though united, is neither homogenous nor monolithic. There are some who try mechanically to transplant onto socialist soil the experience of bourgeois democracy. No one denies that it has a useful function to perform. To a certain extent ideological pluralism and multi-party structure, admitted by it, make it possible to neutralize contradictions in a society whose citizens enjoy definite rights and liberties. They, however, wield no influence at all in the economic sphere. A hired worker remains a hired worker, which by no means indicates either that he is really free or that bourgeois democracy is a full and genuine democracy. Under socialism, however, democracy is called upon to influence the economy, production relations and the distribution of the social wealth directly, and, therefore, politics as well. This can be achieved only provided the Party works in the name of democracy for all."

"The whole point is that public ownership of the means of production must not be turned into a state monopoly on these means of production. As far as I know, the USSR has now come close to a solution of this problem by implementing the Law on State Enterprise."

[Tsoppi] There was a time when we had serious ideological differences. It was said that your self-management had nothing in common with socialism and only engendered the bourgeoisie. You affirmed in reply that the Soviet model of state socialism was detrimental since it didn't give practical effect to Lenin's idea of self-management. But, as a result, we have both now arrived at the conclusion that we must reconsider the social and state structures existing in our countries."



[Komatina] "We now openly admit that we have failed to translate our model of self-managed socialism completely into life, that we have deviated from it and lost our course. You, too, at last (though somewhat belatedly) have come to realize the attractiveness of, and necessity for the practice of self-management. Your glasnost, as I take it, is not a democratic scenery, but a reflection of the objective circumstances that the bodies of power (if this is socialist power) must be under the permanent democratic control of the broad masses of working people. But your concept of self-management should not necessarily correspond exactly to ours."

[Tsoppi] Do you believe in our success?

[Komatina] "I think that in the field of democratizing political life you have already gone somewhat further than Yugoslavia and several other socialist countries. Take, for instance, the changes in the electoral system. We, evidently, were once too much in a hurry and overformalized the principle of nominating several candidates per seat. We believed that, by relying exclusively on the system of delegation as the incarnation of direct democracy, and on selfmanagement, we would secure genuine government by the working people. But the sphere of management found itself alienated to some extent and unyielding to any form of control on their part. As early as the 1950s we proclaimed the need to separate the Party from the state. The Party, we said, must, while remaining at a certain distance from the managerial apparatus, be merely a political controller of its activities, a critical component of the system, and an ideological and theoretical guardian of socialism's purity. We - and this is also important to remember - have never renounced the contention that the Party must be the leading force of society, without being, however, a party vested with power, or the ruling party. But we have never been able to implement completely this concept, laid down in the LCY Programme. As a result, we find ourselves confronted today with the need to combat the forces that are active within the Party, and to combat the red tape of the managerial apparatus."

[Tsoppi] This is our concern as well.

[Komatina] "I know. You have to deal with a giant bureaucratic machinery under whose burden society has lived for decades. This obstacle is stronger than a fortress wall. So far it has been impenetrable. Mikhail Gorbachev has approached it in the new way. And may God give him enough courage! On the other hand, the implementation of the economic reform, based on the cognizance of objective uniformities, can—to a certain extent and for some time—disrupt the Soviet citizens' stable confidence of having been materially protected. But this is the most important gain of socialism! So far, the level of Soviet citizens' material well-being may have been lower than that of working people in highly developed capitalist countries, but it has been guaranteed. And, unlike

people in the West, Soviet people have never had to think that their future was not secure, or that they might be threatened, for instance, with unemployment.

"Nor can one shut one's eyes to the fact that great aims cannot be achieved overnight, right now. We have to work hard and over a long period for their attainment."

[Tsoppi] When Yugoslav industrial workers go on strike or, as you say, a "work stoppage", it is clear what they are standing up for: they want to be paid according to work done and they want their material well-being to be secured. But, while fighting for, they are evidently also fighting against? Against whom? Against socialism? Against self-management?

[Komatina] "They fight against the political bureaucracy trying to formalize its monopoly guidance of the economy and society, and also in an attempt to ensure that economic laws are primarily be taken into account. They go on strike not in protest against socialism or against self-management, but against the situation where selfmanagement does not (let us put it this way) manage everything in practice, and where their proclaimed rights, the rights of the workers, are in fact being seriously infringed upon from time to time." [Komatina ends]

...When in Yugoslavia, I had very interesting meetings with the most different people. In one way or another our discussions essentially focused on the problems encountered by socialism, whether the Yugoslav-type or ours, at the present stage, and on the methods used to solve these problems for the good of man and for the benefit of society's democratization.

"Gorbachev," I was told by Stanislav Marinkovic, editor-in-chief of the newspaper BORBA "is right in saying that you are only beginning to learn democracy. The same with us. We have still to learn how to argue, both with each other and with our opponents in the West. Not fearing mistakes, we must voice our opinion, agree or disagree with each other. One of our wise men recently asked a question: Why do we say that we have opponents of different shades and hues, why don't we say that our friends, too, have different views, that they are comrades who have opinions of their own and a special position that differs from ours? And that they do not stop being our friends and comrades just because of this?

"We know that the Soviet press is very discrete [as spelled] in writing about a crisis in Yugoslavia. Do write! You will not offend anyone with objective information and conscientious analysis. We, for our part, would find it interesting to know what you think about us. Personally, I believe that our situation has never been so definite: the crisis is crushing old schemes, outdated concepts and illusory notions. It is breaking whatever had to be broken by the Party in due time. And, therefore, Yugoslav socialism today has, perhaps, even



more chances of successful development than it had in the recent past. It will be good if we are persistent and wise enough to put these chances to real use..."

As I feel, there will be enough of this.

## West Europe

### First Live Moscow-Bonn TV Link Established

#### INF Treaty Discussed

LD250918 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The first live TV link between Moscow and Bonn, which started today immediately after the midnight in Moscow and ended when it was midnight in Bonn, was devoted to Soviet-West German relations and the most vital international issues. The meeting, which lasted more than two hours, was attended by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany (parliament), students from Moscow schools and Bonn University.

The problem of the earliest ratification of the Soviet-U.S. intermediate nuclear forces treaty sparked a lively debate. Both Soviet and West German participants spoke in favour of following up the first move, which provides for the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles, with a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, conventional weapons and by a chemical weapons ban.

West Germany supports the INF Treaty without reservations, said Egon Bahr, chairman of the parliament's subcommission on disarmament and arms control. "We are also for this document to take account of Pershing-1A missiles situated on the territory of the FRG. The problem of strengthening the system of international security is the key issue, which is crucial for determining how confidently mankind will look into the future. We need to lay down the principles of stability in Europe and in the conventional arms area, at the lowest possible level, and to create a nuclear-free corridor in Europe. We no longer need nuclear weapons."

Speaking of the ratification of the treaty, Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, chairman of the Energy Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said: "It is my understanding that on the whole the chances of ratifying the treaty by the USSR Supreme Soviet are very high because there are not any objections in principle to it. This treaty is also important in that it will help eliminate the whole class of weapons and mark a step towards a completely new attitude to the problems of on-site verification of the treaty."

Colonel General Vadim Lobov, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, stressed that the Soviet Union was taking decisive measures to defuse the international situation and to create favourable possibilities for developing interstate relations. "The USSR," he said, "proposes to reveal in the course of the talks the disbalance and asymmetry in the armaments of the countries—members of the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO bloc. The elimination of weapons must be mutual rather than unilateral."

Sergey Losev, director-general of the TASS news agency, who serves on the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation was yet to receive a reply to its serious proposals on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe. "The asymmetric reduction would not correspond to the balance of forces, because, one can say that the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty countries have an edge in central Europe on some components, like tanks and artillery, while NATO has the advantage on other components, in particular, strike aviation and the balance of forces on the southern flank, where the Warsaw Treaty is opposed by NATO countries."

#### Bilateral Ties Appraised

LD251029 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—"History teaches us a very important lesson: When relations between Russians and Germans are good, it is also good for Europe. When these relations go awry, all Europe becomes feverish," said Sergey Losev, TASS director general, president of the USSR-FRG Society and member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during the first live Moscow-Bonn TV linkup which was held today. West German parliamentarians from all parties represented in the Bundestag had a TV dialogue with their Soviet counterparts—deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. They had a two-hour thorough conversation on important international issues, relations between the two states, acute issues of domestic life of the FRG and Soviet pere-stroyka.

Sergey Losev noted that now the two countries were on the eve of a new favourable advance in mutual relations: An understanding was reached on a visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Moscow and the following visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Bonn.

There were ups and downs in Soviet-West German relations, but now there are all prerequisites for them to improve, despite differences in the social and political systems, said Egon Bahr, a deputy to the West German Bundestag from the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Security questions, closely linked with solution of disarmament problems, are pivotal for relations between the USSR and the FRG.

Parliamentarians should think of how they can ensure the process of detente and contribute to creating a favourable climate for this, said Hans Sterken, chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission. It is high time to turn from the dialogue conducted now at various levels to specific actions, pointed out the West German parliamentarian.

Participants in the Soviet-West German TV dialogue concurred in the opinion that personal contacts and an exchange of tourist groups between the two countries are not active enough. They pointed to the need for contributing in every way to expanding personal contacts, the growth in youth exchanges, including in the forms that seemed impossible in the past. Otto Schilly, a representative of the Greens Party, noted that ordinary people, and not only statesmen, should talk politics.

Soviet and West German linkup participants expressed mutual desire for making their contribution to improve mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and the FRG. They noted that both Germans and Soviet people understand well their responsibility to history and expressed a wish to strive for establishment of friendly relations between peoples and states.

Schoolchildren of a Bonn secondary school and university students studying Russian were invited to participate in the TV linkup on the West German side, and secondary school and university students studying German—on the Soviet side.

#### **Afghanistan, Armenia Reviewed**

*LD251042 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT  
25 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The first live TV link between Moscow and Bonn was held today to discuss vital international issues and Soviet-West German relations, providing a better insight into what makes the peoples of the two countries tick.

Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet held a two-hour TV dialogue with their West German counterparts—members of the West German Bundestag. Soviet and West German participants in the meeting expressed their mutual striving to contribute to better understanding between the peoples of the USSR and FRG, to stronger system of international security.

Replying to questions by the West German audience on the situation around Afghanistan and the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, TASS Director-General Sergey Losev, member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and president of the USSR-FRG Society, said that the Soviet position on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan was clear: We are ready to pull out troops within the acceptable time-frame. This was permanently on the agenda of the Geneva talks held through the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general. Suddenly,

at the final stage when the agreement was practically ready, the Pakistani side advanced completely new demands, delaying the signing of the agreement. Those who are putting off its signing, also take on themselves full responsibility for the delay in settling the conflict. The Pakistani side must give a thought to the possible consequences first of all.

On Nagorno-Karabakh, Sergey Losev said that the Supreme Soviets of Union republics had already determined their position on the problem. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its resolution is fully guided by Article 81 of the USSR Constitution, which says that "the sovereign rights of Union republics shall be safeguarded by the USSR."

The problem is a complex one, Sergey Losev said. But then who does not have nationalities problems? The USSR has more than 100 peoples and nationalities. We can take pride in what we have achieved in solving the nationalities question, which is a live and developing problem. But we made a mistake in the past believing that the nationalities issue was solved once and for all. It must be tackled permanently because new problems keep arising, while the failure to solve them gives rise to unsound situations like the one in Karabakh.

The MP reminded that the FRG, which had one nationality, also faced problems, for example, with foreign workers. Similar problems existed in Belgium.

The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh will be solved. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee on Thursday took a decision to speed up the socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, i.e. to satisfy the really existing complaints. It is important to create a microclimate that will be conducive to tackling the issue. One must not put pressure or give vent to one's emotions. Emotions in such painful issues are hardly the best way to solving them, Sergey Losev said.

#### **Further on Shevardnadze Stopover in Portugal**

##### **Meets With CP Leader**

*LD241819 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT  
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, met here today with General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Alvaro Cunhal.

Shevardnadze informed Cunhal about the results of the Soviet-American talks in Washington.

The sides exchanged views of trends in international affairs and noted the existence of favourable conditions for invigorating efforts to curbing the arms race and averting the threat of nuclear war.

Shevardnadze and Cunhal held a comradely exchange of views. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 25 March 1988 on page 7 of its First Edition publishes a TASS report on the Shevardnadze-Cunhal talks, adding: "Shevardnadze and Cunhal held a comradely exchange of views in a friendly atmosphere."]

#### **Holds Talks With Officials**

LD242046 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—On March 24, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, made a stopover in Lisbon en route home from Washington. He was received by President Mario Soares of Portugal, met with Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva and held talks with Foreign Minister Joao De Deus Pinheiro.

Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed greetings and good wishes from Mikhail Gorbachev to the president of Portugal and the other Portuguese leaders.

In the course of the meetings and talks, the present-day international situation, the state and prospects for Soviet-Portuguese relations were analysed. The assertion was noted in world politics of the trend towards easing tensions, broadening cooperation and building up trust.

Both sides spoke highly of the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in December 1987, stressed the significance of the signing at it of the treaty on intermediate and shorter-range missiles.

The Portuguese leaders were briefed on the Soviet-American talks held in Washington on March 21-23. The Portuguese side expressed satisfaction with the agreement reached on the date for the next summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow, and expressed support for the aim set for that meeting—reaching an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained the Soviet stand, which was set forth at the talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. The point at issue is that agreement be reached on the issue of exchange of information on such forces and arms on the scale of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals even before the start of the official talks on the basis of the future mandate of the Vienna meeting. In so doing, information is to be published not only about the total strength of the troops and the quantity of arms of the two military-political blocs, but also information for each region—central Europe, the European north and the southern areas of the continent. Information could also be exchanged on the strength of the conventional armed forces of each country. This

would create favourable conditions for an effective holding of subsequent talks on a cut in the conventional forces in Europe, would contribute to the elimination of mutual suspicion and lead to building up trust between states and military political alliances.

The Soviet side expressed hope that Portugal would support on an individual basis and at NATO the idea of such an exchange of information as the first step on the way towards eliminating disbalances and asymmetry in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

Questions were also touched upon concerning the development of the Helsinki process, the need was stressed for the speediest attainment at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states—participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation of weighty balanced practical results, including in the field of humanitarian and economic cooperation.

In examining the regional conflicts, main attention was devoted to the situation in southern Africa. The Portuguese side set forth its viewpoint on the possible ways of eliminating that chronic seat of tensions. Considering the coincident elements in the stands of the sides on that issue, it was found advisable to carry on an exchange of views on these subjects with the prospect of possible practical proposals.

The Portuguese leaders expressed satisfaction with the development of the political dialogue with the Soviet Union. They reaffirmed the availability of favourable opportunities for a further intensification and deepening of Soviet-Portuguese relations, developing in them of the positive trends, which manifested themselves in the course of the official visit of President Mario Soares of Portugal to the USSR in November 1987.

The conversations were of a friendly character and proceeded in a frank constructive atmosphere.

#### **Returns to Moscow**

LD242343 Moscow TASS International Service  
in Russian 2036 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister of the USSR, returned to Moscow today.

On the way home from Washington he made a stopover in Lisbon.

Eduard Shevardnadze was met at the airport in Moscow by Vadim Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Anatoliy Kovalev, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and other officials.

In the welcoming party was J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, and Sergio Alexandre Cabral, Portuguese ambassador to the USSR.

## Supreme Soviet Delegation on Scandinavia Tour

### Meets Swedish Parliamentarians

LD250603 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm March 24 TASS—The group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Vice-President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet V.S. Shevchenko, who are currently on a visit here, have met today with representatives of the leadership of all the political parties of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament). In the course of the meetings the Soviet MPs briefed their counterparts on the perestroika currently under way in the USSR. In their turn, representatives of the Swedish parties noted that the people of Sweden are attentively following the processes of ensuring more openness (glasnost) and democracy in the Soviet Union, which are also of international significance.

A meeting was held with members of the Riksdag Foreign Policy Committee led by its Chairman S. Alemyr. The Swedish MPs welcomed the Soviet-American INF Treaty, which has been the first history-making step on the way towards real nuclear disarmament. They also stressed the pressing need for taking further measures for building a nuclear free world, including the conclusion of a treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons and on putting an end to all nuclear tests in the world. It was noted that the creation in Nordic Europe of a zone free from nuclear weapons would be a good contribution by the European Nordic countries to the drive for nuclear disarmament. The Swedish parliament earlier unanimously declared that the country's government should build up efforts towards creating such a zone in Nordic Europe. The Soviet MPs drew attention to the appeal by the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the European Nordic states, the USA and Canada. As S. Alemyr stressed in that connection, this document contains many proposals on a broader range of issues, which is necessary for a detailed and careful examination being held in Riksdag currently.

It was stressed in the course of the meeting with Pierre Shori, secretary general of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, that the Soviet-Swedish political dialogue is a positive development. Its latest example were the Soviet-Swedish political consultations at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, taking part in which from the Soviet side were V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. The concurrence was noted of the stands of the USSR and Sweden on the key issues of strengthening international peace and security and eliminating of the threat of nuclear war. Touching upon the comprehensive programme for strengthening security, cooperation and trust in the north of the world, which was set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk and specified during the official visit to Sweden of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in January this year, Pierre

Shori declared for broadening cooperation in the field of environmental protection and peaceful development of the resources of the north. As far as the security problems are concerned, including in the naval field, he stressed here Sweden's obvious interests in resolving these issues in an even broader international context, for example, within the framework of the all-European process or at the U.N. The conversation also covered the course of the Soviet-American talks on a cut in strategic offensive weapons, the state of things at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states—participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, Sweden's activities within the framework of the "initiative of six for peace and disarmament". Discussing the regional problems, the Soviet MPs drew attention to the USSR's constructive stand aimed at the speediest settlement of the problem around Afghanistan.

### Soviet Appeals 'Studied'

LD241622 Moscow TASS International Service  
in Russian 1020 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm, 24 Mar (TASS)—A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, which is in Stockholm, headed by V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met on 23 March with I. Bengtsson, speaker of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament). The Soviet parliamentarians are making a tour of the countries of northern Europe with the purpose of clarifying to statesmen and deputies of the parliaments of the Scandinavian countries the large-scale Soviet initiatives set forth in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk, and specified in the course of the visits of N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Sweden and Norway.

During a conversation that took place, the significance of developing contacts among the parliamentarians of both countries for further strengthening trust and mutual understanding between the peoples of Sweden and the USSR was stressed. It was noted that the interparliamentary links between the two countries had been developing in the direction of continuity [v postupatelnom napravlenii]. Last year's visits of a Riksdag delegation, headed by I. Bengtsson, to the Soviet Union, and of the delegations of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union, to Sweden, were important milestones on that path. The Swedish Riksdag has also invited a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to come to Sweden on an official visit. Such visits play a great role in the cause of strengthening and developing comprehensive contacts between Swedish and Soviet parliamentarians.

Having dwelt on the complex program of strengthening security, cooperation, and trust in the north of the planet, which was put forward by the Soviet Union, the Soviet parliamentarians drew attention to the appeal of



the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the states of northern Europe, the United States, and Canada. As I. Bengtsson pointed out, this document is being thoroughly studied by Riksdag deputies. Free exchanges of opinions and discussions between the parliamentarians of both countries on the issues tackled in the appeal appear to be quite useful.

Taking part in the conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden.

**Zaykov To Lead Delegation to Finland 5 Apr**  
*LD241449 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT*  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A Soviet delegation will visit Finland on April 5 through 8 to attend observances marking the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948. The delegation will be led by Lev Zaykov, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

### Latin America & Caribbean

**Ortega Comments on Cease-Fire Agreement**  
*LD241524 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT*  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 24 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has described a ceasefire agreement signed here with leaders of the armed counterrevolutionary groups as a major step on the way to achieving peace and stopping the bloody war.

In a statement made after the signing of the agreement the president of Nicaragua pointed out that Nicaragua had always come out in defense of territorial integrity, self-determination, independence, freedom, democracy and peace. The Sapoa meeting demonstrated a tremendous concern of all the Nicaraguans over the destiny of their country. The Nicaraguan people are going to build society based on the principles of political pluralism, mixed economy and non-alignment.

The president expressed high appreciation of the efforts exerted by the Contadora Group and the Support Group which permitted countries of the region to sign the Guatemala accords on the quest for ways towards establishing durable and lasting peace in Central America. "We have made the first important step, and now it is the turn of the U.S. Administration to demonstrate its interest in the discontinuation of the war in Nicaragua. The loss of life as a result of the war amounted to some 50,000 Nicaraguans," he said. Daniel Ortega urged U.S. President Reagan to make his contribution to a peaceful

settlement in the country and to the termination of the war against Nicaragua, as well as to take steps towards the normalization of bilateral relations.

**U.S. Applies Financial Pressure on Panama**  
*LD241407 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT*  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—The United States has moved to increase financial and economic pressure on Panama. President Reagan signed an executive order Wednesday, sanctioning the denial of various customs and other privileges to that country. The system of export-import concessions in trade with the United States, the so-called Caribbean initiatives, will not be applied to Panama from now on either.

These measures, once enacted, will lead to a sharp increase in duties on the export to the United States of Panamanian commodities worth almost two million dollars. Earlier, the United States has already announced the suspension of monthly payments to Panama for the use of the Panama Canal. In March, the United States withheld the payment of 6.5 million dollars to that country for its operation of the Panama Canal zone. Earlier, it froze the Panamanian Government's assets in U.S. banks.

All these measures have sharply aggravated the financial position of that country which uses the U.S. dollar as the key monetary unit, and brought about an acute shortage of money. UPI News Agency frankly writes that the current steps by the administration are designed to deny Panama the funds necessary to finance the government activity.

### Reportage on Uruguayan President's Visit

#### **\*Joint Statement\***

*PM251421 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88*  
Second Edition p 5

#### **["Soviet-Uruguayan Joint Statement"]**

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government, Julio Maria Sanguinetti, President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, paid an official visit to the USSR 19-23 March 1988.

President J.M. Sanguinetti and the persons accompanying him were given a warm, enthusiastic welcome reflecting the feelings of mutual respect and trust between the Soviet and Uruguayan peoples.

President J.M. Sanguinetti and the persons accompanying him visited Moscow and Leningrad, which allowed them to acquaint themselves with various aspects of the life of the Soviet people and their achievements in the economic, scientific, and cultural spheres.

President J.M. Sanguinetti laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall. A wreath also was laid at the Piskarevskoye Cemetery in Leningrad.

During the stay in Moscow there was a meeting between President J.M. Sanguinetti and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the visit, Soviet-Uruguayan negotiations took place. They allowed an open and constructive exchange of views to be held on questions of developing bilateral cooperation and on a broad range of international issues of mutual interest.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Soviet side—A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.I. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; K.N. Brutents, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and I.K. Laptev, USSR ambassador to Uruguay.

On the Uruguayan side: Dr Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay; Luis Barrios, minister of Foreign affairs; Ricardo Zervino, minister of economic and finance; Senators Jorge Batlle and Alfredo Traversoni; General Liber Seregni, chairman of the Broad Front; Federico Slinger, president of the Bank; Nelson Nicollello, member of the Supreme Court; Isidoro Odara, general director of the Directorate for Foreign Trade of the Ministry of Economy and Finance; Ernesto Carrau, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; Julio Franco, president of the Exporters' Union; Mario Fernandez, special ambassador; Nestor Cosentino, chairman of the Chamber of Industry; Walter Nessi, deputy chairman of the President's Office; and Juan Jose Real, ambassador of Uruguay to the USSR.

The sides gave a positive appraisal of the level of relations achieved in recent years between the USSR and Uruguay, which are an example of the successful realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing political, economic, and social systems. There was confirmation of their mutual commitment to the further development of bilateral ties in various spheres on the basis of the principles of the legal equality of states, mutual respect, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

Both sides laid stress upon the important significance of the deepening Soviet-Uruguayan political dialogue, and of ties between the governments, parliaments, and other state institutions, which in addition to the established practice of regular political consultations carried out on the basis of the 1986 Soviet-Uruguayan protocol, enables an exchange of opinions on a wide spectrum of issues of bilateral relations and the key problems of today to be conducted in the spirit of trust, frankness, and respect, thereby promoting constructive interaction between the USSR and Uruguay in the world arena in the name of peace, security, and progress.

During an examination of Soviet-Uruguayan trade and economic ties, particular attention was given to analyzing the opportunities existing in this sphere for increasing and diversifying trade exchange and for developing economic cooperation on a stable and mutually advantageous basis.

In this context, the sides noted the positive importance of the intergovernmental agreement on reciprocal goods deliveries for 1988-90 which was signed during the visit, and also of the accords on trade exchange in 1988 and on extending the schedule for concluding contracts in accordance with the 1984 intergovernmental protocol on deliveries of machinery and equipment to Uruguay from the USSR.

The sides expressed certainty of the need to continue efforts to seek new directions and forms for bilateral trade and economic cooperation, in particular industrial cooperation and setting up of mixed and other enterprises. In the opinion of the sides, this will be facilitated by the proposals and recommendations worked out during the 3d session of the Soviet-Uruguayan Intergovernmental Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation which took place in Montevideo in February 1988.

The sides underlined their readiness to speed up studies with the aim of signing an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of industrial ownership, exchange of technological information, and monitoring of technology transfer.

Both sides also expressed their commitment to continuing work on determining the mechanisms for cooperation in matters relating to fishing, and expressed their readiness to expand the study of the economic and technical aspects necessary for signing an agreement on cooperation in providing port facilities for fishing ships.

The sides confirmed their mutual commitment to expanding cooperation in the field of air transport and agreed to continue studying the question of signing an intergovernmental agreement on air communications.

The sides noted the successful implementation of the program for cultural and scientific exchanges in 1987-88 which was signed on the basis of the agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation which went into effect

in 1987. They expressed support for the further expansion of fruitful links in the fields of culture, science, education, and sports, and for encouraging bilateral exchanges in those spheres which will promote the mutual spiritual enrichment of the links between their peoples and the growth of trust between them.

During a thorough examination of topical international problems, attention was focused chiefly on an assessment of the current world situation and the prospects for its development. Agreement to continue reciprocal consultations on the main issues on the basis of a corresponding protocol was confirmed. The exchange of opinions which was held confirmed that the approaches by the Soviet Union and Uruguay to top priority international problems are in many respects close and sometimes coincide.

The sides reaffirmed their unvarying adherence to such fundamental principles and norms of international law as the sovereign equality of states, the peaceful resolution of disputes, the banning of the use of force and the threat to use it, compliance with international agreements and treaties, respect for territorial integrity, the self-determination of peoples, and noninterference in the internal affairs of states.

They expressed the conviction that the current international situation demands new political thinking and a constructive approach to the complex and interdependent realities of the world today in the interests of strengthening the security of all countries. A solution to the key question of the day—prevention of the nuclear threat, the preservation of human civilization, and the building of a nuclear-free world free of violence—is possible only on the condition that active, joint efforts are made by all states regardless of their political, economic, and social system, their size, or geographical position.

The Soviet Union and Uruguay stated their firm support for UN efforts to develop the process of disarmament and broad international cooperation. They favor enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations and its Security Council in maintaining international peace and security, resolving crisis situations and regional conflicts, and peacefully settling international disputes, and they favor the strengthening of its legal, political, and moral status.

The sides found that their approaches to the question of an all-embracing international peace and security system coincide. Stress was laid on the need to develop and strengthen the broad international exchange of opinions on ways and means to ensure security in the world today on the basis of the UN Charter and within the UN framework. They expressed support for the implementation of decisions adopted by the UN General Assembly on this issue.

The sides noted with satisfaction the adoption during the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly of the declaration of enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of renouncing the threat of force or its use in international relations, which directs the states toward the necessity to activate efforts on reducing tension in the world, first and foremost through removing the threat of war, both nuclear and conventional.

The Soviet side drew the attention of the Uruguayan side to the significance of the concrete steps which it undertakes in order to implement the program of complete and universal elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction by the end of this century.

The sides are unanimous that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington in December 1987 was a major event in world political life. The treaty signed between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is of historic significance and opens up real prospects for lowering the level of nuclear confrontation; for reducing the danger of nuclear conflict; for beginning a broad and dynamic process of real disarmament, in which the focal point is the problem of reducing strategic offensive weapons; halting and banning nuclear tests; the speediest possible conclusion of a convention on the comprehensive ban and destruction of all chemical weapons; and the balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments.

Both sides believe that discussion of disarmament problems should be stepped up in every possible way in the United Nations, at the disarmament conference, and at other multilateral forums which provide an opportunity for all countries of the international community to participate in a constructive way in seeking solutions to the key problems facing mankind. Particular significance in this connection is attached to the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which should become an important stage on the path to creating favorable conditions for advancing the cause of disarmament and enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations's work in this sphere. It was noted that the existing agreements and treaties in the field of arms limitation, including the ABM Treaty, must be fulfilled.

The sides spoke out against the proliferation of the arms race in space. They noted the importance of developing international cooperation in the matter of using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, creating an international mechanism for the safe development of nuclear power engineering, and enhancing the role of the IAEA. The need was stressed for the further strengthening of the mechanism for monitoring the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and also for the creation of nuclear-free zones in the world as one of the means of achieving the complete ridding of the planet of nuclear weapons. The Uruguayan side noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union had once again stated its support for the

efforts of the Latin American countries which are being implemented within the framework of the Treaty on the Banning of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Tlaltelolco Treaty). Both sides spoke out in support of the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic. Having discussed question connected with the situation in various areas of the globe, the sides expressed serious concern over the persistence and exacerbation of regional conflicts, and voiced their conviction that settling them on the basis of international law would help to ease tension and reinforce universal security and trust between states.

Having scrutinized the situation in Central America, the Soviet Union and Uruguay spoke out firmly and resolutely against the pursuit there of a policy of pressure and interference, came out in support of the peace-making efforts of the participants in the Contadora Group and its Support Group, and confirmed the need to implement the 'Esquipulas-2' Guatemala Agreements in full. In this connection, they expressed their conviction that a peaceful and just settlement can be achieved in Central America only if due consideration is given to the interests of all the Central American countries and by the efforts of the Latin American states themselves on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of the countries in the region and of their right to an independent path of development. The Uruguayan side rates positively the Soviet Union's readiness to promote the establishment of peace in Central America, as expressed in its resolute support for the efforts by the Latin American countries to ensure strict implementation of the Guatemala accords. The Soviet side rated highly the contribution made by Uruguay and other Latin American countries to the cause of establishing peace in that region.

Both sides expressed profound concern over the situation taking shape in southern Africa, which demands an immediate peaceful settlement, and they condemned the apartheid regime, which debases human dignity and fails to recognize the international community's insistent appeals for an end to that discriminatory practice. They once again reaffirmed that independence must be granted promptly to Namibia on the basis of the relevant UN General Assembly resolutions. The USSR and Uruguay spoke in favor of convening as soon as possible a plenipotentiary international conference on the Middle East under UN auspices with all the parties concerned taking part, and also with the five permanent members of the Security Council participating with a view to attaining a just and comprehensive settlement in the region with the legitimate interests of all those involved in the conflict taken into account.

It was stressed that it is necessary to stop as soon as possible the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, and to steer it in the direction of a political settlement, taking into account the legitimate interests of both sides in accordance with Security Council Resolution 598. The Soviet side drew the attention of the Uruguayan side to the importance of its proposals on normalization of the

Persian Gulf situation, including those on withdrawal of the ships of nonlittoral states, and on formation of a UN naval force. Speaking in favor of peacefully resolving all conflicts, the sides stressed the urgent need to solve the Afghan problem as quickly as possible in the interests of peace and stability in Asia. The Soviet side, in the spirit of M.S. Gorbachev's Statement of 8 February 1988, confirmed that it is ready to withdraw its troops after agreements drawn up in Geneva at the Afghan-Pakistani talks are signed. Both sides stressed that it is necessary to secure for Afghanistan the position of an independent and neutral state.

The sides noted with satisfaction the coincidence of assessments of the main problems of current international economic relations and conceptual approaches toward regulating them in the interests of the entire world community.

In both sides' opinion, the task of safeguarding universal peace, security, and stability of development today requires a new dynamic approach to restructuring international economic relations and decisive and all-round actions on national, bilateral, and multilateral levels. Only by the efforts of all states can an irreversible deterioration in the world economy be avoided.

In this connection, the sides especially stressed the significance of the decisions made at the United Nations aimed at restructuring international economic relations on a just, democratic basis, at establishing a new international economic order, and at safeguarding the international economic security of all states.

Both sides advocate the strengthening of the United Nations and the organizations of the UN system, in particular UNCTAD, GATT, ECLAC [Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean] and other regional commissions as forums of universal dialogue aimed at coordinating practical measures to impart a predictable, equal, and stable nature to the process of the development of the world economy and to use economic interdependence for the benefit of all countries.

The Uruguayan side drew attention to the importance of the Uruguayan round of the GATT for ensuring greater liberalization of international trade and strengthening its multilateral nature. Noting the increasing impact of GATT on the processes of regulating international trade, the sides agreed that GATT, because of its universal nature, should be open for all sides who are interested and ready to fulfill the appropriate commitments to join it. In these conditions the Uruguayan side supports the USSR's desire to take part in multilateral trade talks within the GATT framework. The Soviet side, noting Uruguay's contribution to achieving the harmonious development of international trade and economic relations and the support it had expressed, accepted with satisfaction this position of the Uruguayan side.



The sides attach important significance to the task of strengthening the international currency and finance system and creating an effective interstate regulation of currency relations on an equal basis. Profound concern was expressed at the problem of the foreign debt of the developing countries, without a settlement to which the stable economic growth of the debtor countries and the stabilization of the socio-economic processes occurring in them are impossible. In this context the sides agreed on the need to assist the steady growth of international trade by doing away with the practice of protectionism, which would thus open up to the developing countries access to resources which would enable them to ensure steady economic growth. The sides called for an international conference to be held with the participation of all the interested sides to work out approaches to a just settlement to the debt problem.

The USSR and Uruguay emphasized the close link between disarmament and development, as well as the need to switch the resources used for military ends over to nations' social and economic development.

The sides favored the respecting of human rights and the assertion of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, the further improvement of international humanitarian ties, and the development of multilateral international cooperation in this field, including within the UN framework. They stressed the need for states to strengthen their interaction in the fields of culture, information, education, and contacts between people, institutions, and organizations.

It was emphasized that international terrorism in all its manifestations constitutes a serious threat to the cause of peace, security, and cooperation between nations. The sides resolutely condemn terrorist activity of any kind and call for broad cooperation between states with a view to the adoption of effective measures in accordance with international law to eradicate terrorism.

Both sides agreed that the treaty on the Antarctic and the agreements that supplement it from a multilateral legal basis has been effectively operating for over 25 years, and they came out in favor of strengthening and improving that mechanism of international law.

Both sides expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the official visit paid to the Soviet Union by Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, the first such high-level visit in the history of the relations between the two countries. The event marks an important stage in developing and strengthening Soviet-Uruguayan relations in various fields, and creates new conditions for further cooperation between the USSR and Uruguay for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries, and for the sake of peace throughout the world.

At the conclusion of his visit, J.M. Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, expressed to A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his profound gratitude for the warm welcome extended by the Soviet leadership to him, his wife, and the persons accompanying him.

#### More on Departure

PM241245 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, left the USSR 23 March. He had been paying an official visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government.

At Vnukovo Airport J.M. Sanguinetti and his wife were seen off at the aircraft steps by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife.

A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials participated in the send-off.

The state flags of Uruguay and the Soviet Union had been hoisted at the airport, and an honor guard of three branches of the USSR Armed Forces—Ground Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy—was drawn up on the airfield. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

A.A. Gromyko and J.M. Sanguinetti inspected the Soviet servicemen.

The send-off ceremony ended with a march by the honor guard.

## Political & Social

### Politburo Discusses Karabakh, Official Visits

PM251357 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88  
Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed Report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At a meeting on 24 March, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed a report on the results of recruitment to the CPSU in 1987. Note was taken of the further organizational and political reinforcement of the party ranks. In democratizing the process of selecting new party members, the party organizations have begun to make broad use of the practice of preliminary discussion of applications at collective assemblies and taking a more demanding attitude toward checking the qualities of those joining the party, and toward assessing their activities, behavior, and moral make-up.

At the same time, the necessary positive changes in this work have not occurred in many party organizations. There are still cases of a formal and statistical approach and of harsh regulation of the recruitment of new party members. Insufficient attention is being devoted to drawing active fighters for restructuring into the party ranks. It has been proposed to party committees that they comprehensively analyze the state of this work, that they step up the ideological education of Communists, and persistently enhance their vanguard role in implementing the economic reform and the democratization of life in the party and in society. Emphasis was placed on the need for strict adherence to the CPSU Central Committee's principled policies regarding the forming and reinforcing of party ranks with people for whom active participation in restructuring has become the main meaning of life.

With the participation of the first secretaries of the central committees of the union republic Communist parties and of a number of party obkoms and kraykoms, an examination was made of the progress achieved in fulfilling the 11 July 1986 decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures for enhancing the stability of the country's grain farming and increasing the grain and fodder resources during the 12th 5-year period. It was noted at the session that a considerable increase in yields and gross harvests has been achieved in many farms in various zones in the country where true priority has been attached to grain production and where grain crop cultivation has been carried out by contract collectives and with the application of intensive technologies. Thanks to the intensification of production, the gross grain harvest for 1986-87 in the country as a whole increased by 17 percent and there was an improvement in the quality of the grain procured by the state.

However, a breakthrough in grain farming has not been achieved. The planned volumes of grain production are not being secured. In many republics, krays, and oblasts work being done with machine operators, specialists, and farm managers on studying advanced experience and scientific achievements is being performed at a low level, and the resources being invested are not producing proper returns. Shortcomings in the production of pulse crops have not been overcome and this is leading to great over-consumption of fodder grain. Scientifically-based land cultivation systems are being mastered in an uncreative way, technological discipline remains at a low level, and there has been virtually no redistribution of allocated resources in favor of grain crops. Work on introducing intensive technologies and various forms of financial autonomy contracting is being carried out, largely in a formal manner.

The leaders of the USSR Ministries of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, of Mineral Fertilizer Production, of the Chemical Industry, of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, of Construction Materials, and other departments have displayed a lack of discipline and have failed to fulfill their obligations to grain farmers in the delivery of machines and the materials necessary for the intensive technologies. The Politburo has demanded that the Communist Party central committees and councils of ministers of the union republics, the party kraykoms and obkoms, the USSR Gosagroprom, and other union ministries and departments should take measures to help enhance the stability of the country's grain farming, further increase gross grain harvests, and considerably improve its food and fodder qualities. In doing this, attention must be mainly focused on the assimilation in every farm of intensive technologies by financially autonomous links working on collective, family, lease-hold, and other contracts, in order to obtain a big harvest of grain and other crops as early as this year.

The Politburo approved the decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the social and economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijani SSR in the period 1988-95. A broad package of measures is envisaged for considerably reinforcing the material and technical base of the social sphere and for developing the oblast's productive forces and infrastructure. A considerable expansion of construction of housing, general education schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, and other social and cultural facilities is envisioned. Work on ensuring reliable reception of the all-union television channel, as well as the full range of broadcasts by Azerbaijani and Armenian television will be completed. There will be an increase in the amount of literature published in Armenian, and there will be an expansion of restoration and renovation work on historical and cultural monuments. It remains an important task to educate working people and the entire people in a spirit of internationalism, fraternal friendship, and

mutual assistance and it is essential to resolutely cut short the slightest manifestation of nationalism or lack of respect for the national feelings of representatives of different peoples.

It is planned to increase industrial output by more than 50 percent by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan by constructing new enterprises and modernizing and retooling existing ones. The oblast's agro-industrial complex will be further developed. The amount of road building work will almost double.

The session supported government proposals aimed at deepening the restructuring process in foreign economic activity. Measures to further improve the organizational structure of foreign economic organizations, ministries, and departments were approved. It was recognized as expedient to transfer these organizations to full financial autonomy, and to reduce the number of levels and staff. It is planned to considerably improve the work of foreign economic organizations abroad. It is envisioned that the USSR's trade missions will fully represent the foreign economic interests of our state in the countries where they are located, and will be responsible for the development of economic relations with foreign countries.

The Politburo examined the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the SFRY, and the negotiations and talks with Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and other Yugoslav leaders. The visit was a most important political event in Soviet-Yugoslav relations and strengthened the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding between the two countries, and revealed a similarity of approaches to a number of major problems of socialist development and international relations.

High appraisal was given to the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration and to the long-term program of economic cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia for the period up to the year 2000, which expresses mutual readiness to bring the entire package of cooperation up to new and higher levels, based on the principles enshrined in the documents of 1955 and 1956. Party and soviet organs, ministries, and departments are instructed to consistently work to enhance the dynamism and quality of Soviet-Yugoslav ties in all aspects, in the spirit of the summit-level accords.

Approval was given to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with a group of prominent U.S. senators and scientists visiting Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Parliamentary Group. This meeting fits in well with the increasingly dynamic nature of political dialogue in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which should promote better mutual understanding between the two sides and their interaction in world affairs.

The Politburo approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting, and Comrade Gromyko's negotiations with President Sanguinetti of Uruguay. It was pointed out that as a result of this meeting and the negotiations, relations between the Soviet Union and Uruguay have been developed further, on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual trust and cooperation, and also taking account of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders. Stress was laid on the need for further deepening interaction with Uruguay and other Latin American states which are striving to make their contribution to achieving a just settlement of the situation in Central America. This interaction will also be aimed at a nonmilitary settlement of regional conflicts and at promoting foreign-policy initiatives in the name of improving the international climate, disarmament, and strengthening peace.

The results of the conference on ideological matters of secretaries of central committees of socialist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, which was held in Ulaanbaatar, were examined, and the work of the CPSU delegation was approved. The conference offered an opportunity to exchange opinions and experience on problems connected with the new political thinking and the ideological work of the fraternal parties at the current stage, which is particularly topical in the conditions of the profound social and economic transformations and the restructuring processes, and the improvement and renewal of ideological activity, which are taking place in the socialist countries. Instructions have been given to Soviet ideological institutions to implement the joint decisions adopted.

The Politburo approved the results of Comrade Yakovlev's friendly visit to the People's Republic of Mongolia, during which a program for deepening cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP in the field of ideology, culture, science and education was signed. This will undoubtedly serve the further development of comprehensive relations between the two fraternal parties and peoples.

The session discussed information about the results of Comrade Nikonov's working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It was decided to adopt additional measures aimed at invigorating bilateral Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in the main areas of the agro-industrial sphere and removing obstacles to the use of the considerable reserves contained in this sphere.

Comrade Yazov's report on his meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci on 16-17 March in Bern was heard. It was noted that the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers, as a sign of positive improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations, has become another useful step in the same direction.

Having considered the results of Comrade Maslyukov's visit to India, the Politburo approved his talks with Rajiv Gandhi and other Indian leaders. It was stated with satisfaction that the talks serve to further deepen and develop Soviet-Indian cooperation in various fields.

The Politburo heard Comrade Talyzin report on his talks with the Vietnamese leaders during the Soviet party and government delegation's visit there for the funeral of Pham Hung.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo also discussed other questions concerning party and state building.

**Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Dissolves Committee**  
*LD251457 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*  
*0715 GMT 25 Mar 88*

[Numbering as heard]

[Text] At the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet:

On 24 March a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic was held by its chairman, Comrade Tataliyev. The question of the appeals by the union republics over events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and duties concerning the fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, were discussed. Comrade Tataliyev gave information about the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held on 23 March. During the discussion of envisaged questions, Aslanov, (Ananov), Kadyrov, Dzhamalova, Mustafayev, Sokolov, Tagiyev, [name indistinct] and Yusufova, members of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Rustam-Zade, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet; and Kadiyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium read reports.

At the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic, Comrade Kyamran Bagirov, Communist Party first secretary of the Azerbaijan Central Committee, read a report.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision on this question. The decision will be published in the press.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet adopted decrees on [word indistinct] confirmation of holding the gatherings, meetings [word indistinct] and demonstrations (?peacefully), and on responsibility concerning the established (?form) for holding gatherings, meetings, (?rallies), and demonstrations in a friendly way.

Resolution of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and on duties concerning the fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

1. Appeals of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz,

Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's have reached the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. These appeals state that workers in the fraternal republics are deeply worried and anxious over the situation that has come about in Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet expresses its sincere gratitude for the fraternal solidarity of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics. This [word indistinct] proves the cohesion of Soviet peoples and [words indistinct] and that serious anxiety has come about after the events, unprecedented in the whole history of national relations in the USSR.

On 23 March, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR, and Armenia SSR and adopted the (?relevant) decisions. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] on (?pressuring) the state ruling bodies [words indistinct] for changing national state boundaries established by the USSR Constitution [words indistinct], because these may further (?worsen) the situation and lead to (?unpredictable) conclusions.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has [word indistinct] about the anxiety of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics about the [word indistinct] situation in Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR connected with events in Nagorno-Karabakh and completely (?agrees) that this harms peoples of both republics and generally [word indistinct] further strengthening of friendship among peoples of the USSR.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet resolutely (?condemns) the criminal actions allowed by individuals and groups that resulted in human casualties. Workers in the republic [word indistinct] know that the (?criminals) will be brought to serious administrative responsibility and to criminal responsibility and will receive the necessary punishment.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. [Words indistinct] on measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and on decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet [words indistinct].

2. The Presidium of the Nakhchivan ASSR Supreme Soviet, executive committee of the people's deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and executive committees of rayon and city soviets of the republic are taking necessary measures to create social security everywhere, protect [word indistinct] of the population, [word indistinct] (?enforcing) socialist legality and securing rights and interests of citizens (?in the light) of the



resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures concerning appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR.

In work collectives of all establishments, departments, and organizations and in (?educational) establishments conditions of [word indistinct] be created. By using the rights given to (?soviets), all actions and phenomena that harm the cohesion and (?unity) of peoples be resolutely eliminated. Resistance be shown resolutely to every phenomenon of nationalism and extremism. Those who by their actions violate the stabilization of the situation and intend to harm the friendship and cooperation of peoples be brought to serious responsibility. Deputies of soviets, [word indistinct] together with party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations must decisively carry out (?socialist) political work and must create among the population the nature of the principles of Leninist national policy and necessity for respecting the national (?identity) of citizens. Conditions of [words indistinct] be created in every establishment, every organization, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, departments, educational establishments, and all work collectives.

Workers of all nationalities and peoples must be mobilized to fulfill the duties of revolutionary changes implemented in accordance with resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the later plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

3. The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet prepare a complex of measures within 10 days for solving questions of [words indistinct] economic, social, and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and [word indistinct] of the republic and adopt the relevant decision. Ministries of the Azerbaijan SSR and state committees and head departments secure the observance of state and [word indistinct] order in establishments and organizations under them [words indistinct]

4. Taking into account the fact that the so-called KrunK Association, created in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, has been assuming functions not appropriate to it, that its activities essentially contradict the goals of communist construction and the principles of socialist internationalism, and that it has been inciting the population to mass disturbances, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR resolves that this association, the bodies that lead it, its committee, and the council are dissolved, and that the prosecuting officials ensure the urgent implementation of the present resolution and not allow illegal activities of any kind by self-styled organizations.

5. To secure the [word indistinct] rules, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the republic's prosecuting officials take [words indistinct] measures in accordance with the law against people who act against society, (?create) provocations, and calling on people not to abide by the legal requirements of the ruling bodies.

It must be pointed out that the USSR Prosecutor's Office is carrying out a comprehensive investigation of crimes committed during the [word indistinct] in (?Apsheeron).

6. It is an (?urgent) requirement to accept the decrees of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on rules of organizing gatherings, meetings, rallies, and demonstrations and violating [word indistinct] the established rule concerning organizing gatherings, meetings, [word indistinct] and demonstrations.

7. Proposals be sent to the Presidium of the Armenia SSR Supreme Soviet on implementing measures in the field of strengthening socialist legality and social security, securing protection of legal interests of citizens of all nationalities, and strengthening friendship and cooperation of fraternal Soviet peoples. Mass media be instructed to strengthen the idea of friendship and brotherhood of Soviet peoples by all means and to expose actively every [word indistinct] who are attempting to incite national hostility and to (?violate) the rights and interests of various nationalities and peoples living in the republic.

[Signed] Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

Kadiyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

City of Baku, 24 March 1988

### Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Events

#### More on Ethnographers

LD250253 Moscow in English to North America  
2300 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh was the main issue discussed at a news conference by Soviet scholars for local and foreign journalists here in Moscow just devoted to relations between various ethnic groups.

Ethnographer (?Solomon Brook) told the news conference that the nationalities question had become one of the most crucial ones lately. Before the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh there were various actions by the Crimean Tatars in Moscow, disturbances in the Baltic republics, and the capital of the central Asian republic of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata. (?Solomon Brook) believes the main reason for this is that the previous leadership ignored problems in ethnic relations, which piled up for decades.

[Begin (Brook) recording in Russian, fading into English translation] We kept saying that nationalities question in this country had been solved. According to this logic, once a question has been settled it no longer deserves any

attention, and so we ignored the problems of ethnic minorities. Social justice in relation to the culture and language of some ethnic groups were violated. [end recording]

However, Professor of Geography Sergey Arutyunov believes that a revision of borders between republics wouldn't solve ethnic problems. The Soviet Union in the twenties reconsidered this ethnic and territorial division, for instance Nagorno-Karabakh with a predominantly Armenian population became part of Azerbaijan in 1923. Sergey Arutyunov, an ethnic Armenian, sees the solution of Nagorno-Karabakh's problems in higher rates of social and economic development.

[Begin Arutyunov recording in Russian, fading into English translation] In Azerbaijan's capital Baku there are more Armenians than in Nagorno-Karabakh. The main goal is to make Armenians in any area feel themselves full-fledged citizens, having equal opportunities in terms of education and welfare. If we start changing borders, what shall we do about other ethnic groups? In Latvia half of the population are Russians, and in Kazakhstan the Kazakhs are now in the minority. [end recording]

Ethnographer Yuriy [as heard] Bromley believes that the inadequate economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh, compared to other areas in Azerbaijan, and the abuse of the ethnic rights of Armenians are the main reason why the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh have demanded their reunification with Armenia. A course in the history of the Armenian people at Armenian schools in that autonomous area was abolished. Even questions of cultural ties with neighboring Armenia were decided by Azerbaijanian authorities. All this resulted in ethnic differences. In the Azerbaijanian city of Sumgait over the past few days 32 people have been killed and more than 100 injured. Most of the victims were Armenians.

Soviet scholars were unanimous that there was only one way of describing the hostilities in Sumgait: nationalism. Yuriy Bromley again:

[Begin Bromley recording in Russian, fading into English translation] There were many more Azerbaijanians protecting Armenians from some of their fellow countrymen. I believe that a group of extremists sought to use the situation in Sumgait in their own interests. Is there any other explanation of the fact that in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, where there are 160,000 Armenians, that is more than Sumgait, there have been no disturbances? Besides other things that divide Azerbaijanians and Armenians, there are centuries old religious traditions. The prevailing religion in Armenia is Christianity, whereas the Azerbaijanians profess Islam. [end recording]

Asked about the role of the church in the conflict, Prof Sergey Arutyunov noted the peaceful attitude of both the Muslim and the Christian Church, which urged their

congregations to refrain from bloodshed and settle all disputes peacefully. Prof Arutyunov said in that case there were no connections between the nationalities question and the difference in religion.

The journalists were told that it would take time to find a solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. There was a shortage of authoritative experts on the nationalities question because the Soviet Union hadn't an organization in charge of ethnic relations since 1936. The Soviet scholars announced that special committees were being set up at government bodies and nongovernmental organizations to ensure the rights of ethnic minorities and adequate representation in all governing bodies and other institutions. At the news conference it was confirmed that the nationalities question will be the main issue discussed at the next full-scale meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee.

### PRAVDA Correspondent Suspended

PM251345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88  
Second Edition p 8

[PRAVDA Editorial Office Statement: "Who Has Violated Journalistic Ethics? Concerning Yu. Arakelyan's Note"]

[Text] The editorial office of PRAVDA has received a service note from our correspondent in the Armenian SSR, Yu. Arakelyan, in which he dissociates himself from the article, "Emotions and Reason," published on 21 March of this year, accuses the editorial office of violating the ethics of journalism, and writes that he did not see the galley proofs, and consequently, the content, of the article attributed to him.

We have discovered that Yu. Arakelyan's service note, which was transmitted by telephone, has been copied and is circulating in Yerevan. It has also found its way into the possession of certain Western correspondents accredited in our country.

"In this connection, we consider it necessary to make the following statement. Together with other comrades, Yu. Arakelyan collected material for the article between 23 February and 11 March of this year in the Armenian SSR and filed that material. From 11 to 17 March he was in Moscow and prepared the article for publication with other journalists. He made a number of suggestions which were taken into account. The editorial office is in possession of the originals of the suggestions and of the corrected proofs of the article, done by Yu. Arakelyan in his own hand.

"On the morning of 21 March, the editorial office had a telephone conversation with Yu. Arakelyan, in which he did not dissociate himself from the article, but merely told us about the initial reactions in Yerevan to its publication. The text of the service note mentioned above reached the editorial office in the evening.

"Yu. Arakelyan's conduct obliges the editorial office to suspend his authority to act as PRAVDA correspondent in the Armenian SSR pending his explanation of the affair at a session of the paper's editorial board."

#### **Sakharov Writes to Gorbachev**

LD251055 Hamburg DPA in German 0934 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet human rights campaigner and Nobel Prize winner Andrey Sakharov, in a letter to CPSU General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev, has written in support of the rights of the Armenians. In the letter to the Kremlin chief, sent on Monday, Sakharov criticizes the fact that the policy of "glasnost" was being suppressed and that "maneuvers and attempts at persuasion" had been deployed. This was stated by Sakharov to DPA by telephone on Friday. In his letter he at the same time proposes that the Armenian demands should be examined within the framework of the constitution.

Sakharov added that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh may be even worse than in Yerevan. He had information that Azerbaijani militiamen are being deployed on a larger scale in that area, where Armenians make up the majority. The information, however, still needs confirmation. According to Sergey Grigoryants, chief editor of the unofficial publication GLASNOST, 15,000 Azerbaijani militiamen are now in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In his letter to Gorbachev, Sakharov writes: "It must unfortunately be stated that not for the first time, glasnost is being suppressed in a tense situation. Precisely when it is especially needed... At the same time, reports which fail to give a complete picture of the story are appearing in the press and on television. The legitimate requests of the Armenian population have been described as extremist. A negative response has been, so to speak, pre-determined."

The Armenian people had hoped for a constitutional solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue within the framework of Gorbachev's policy, Sakharov added. The decision by the Nagorno-Karabakh regional Soviet to annex the region to Armenia should be discussed by the supreme soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia. In the event of no agreement being reached, the Supreme Soviet (USSR Parliament) should tackle the issue. Sakharov unequivocally supports a peaceful solution to the problems.

In a second letter to Gorbachev, Sakharov demands the free return of the Crimean Tatars to the Crimea. They should receive rights in registering with the police, price reductions for buying houses, special credit, and help in finding jobs.

#### **Armenian Nationalist Arrested**

AU251116 Paris AFP in English 1105 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 25 (AFP)—A leading Armenian nationalist was arrested overnight Thursday in the Armenian capital of Yerevan, a dissident source told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Friday. The dissident, Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, who publishes the CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY BULLETIN, did not elaborate, as his telephone call was abruptly cut off.

The Armenian nationalist, Paruir Airikyan, was detained here Tuesday and sent back to Armenia. He had told foreign correspondents about the situation in Central Asia Tuesday, and two days later telephoned them to say that the Soviet Army had boosted its presence in Yerevan.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party daily PRAVDA said Friday it had suspended its correspondent in Armenia after he disclaimed an article under his name that rejected the return of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. [passage omitted]

#### **Yerevan Reported Calm**

AU251335 Paris AFP in English 1327 GMT  
25 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 25 (AFP)—Soviet authorities arrested a leading Armenian nationalist, a dissident source said Friday, as Moscow pressed an apparent carrot-and-stick campaign to tame the persistent unrest in the country's south. [passage omitted]

The arrest of Paruir Airikyan Thursday was reported by dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov, who publishes the CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY BULLETIN. He did not have the chance to elaborate as his telephone call to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here was abruptly cut short. Calls to other dissidents in Moscow or Yerevan were also cut off after just a few seconds.

But Igor Muradyan, a militant nationalist, reported before his line was cut that Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh had launched a strike, although he did not give the date. He said the Soviets still kept large contingents of troops in Nagorno-Karabakh and Yerevan, the scene of recent nationalist protests and clashes. The situation in the Armenian capital was calm, Mr. Muradyan said, but nationalist leaders felt it wise to call off street protests scheduled there for Saturday.

Armenian authorities published new regulations on Wednesday which required organizers of demonstrations to give 10 days' notice.

The Armenian daily KOMMUNIST, in its Wednesday edition which reached Moscow on Friday, urged efforts to "neutralize" the nationalist Karabakh Committee. It

said the planned protest on Saturday would have "unforeseen consequences." KOMMUNIST also reported that 2,364 Armenians had fled to Armenia from the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait, the scene of a massacre last month that produced an official toll of 32 people dead and nearly 200 wounded. [passage omitted]

#### **Intellectuals Issue Appeal**

*LD242206 Moscow In English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[Text] A group of intellectuals has made an appeal in connection with the events around Nagorno-Karabakh. The appeal is carried in the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA daily.

We who represent Soviet intellectuals are extremely concerned over the outbreak of ethnic discord in Transcaucasia, the appeal says. What is happening there sows the seeds of enmity which might bear the horrible fruit of hostility and disunity. Particularly great is the danger of using ethnic traditions and religious festivities in the endeavors to further kindle extremist sentiment and passion.

The authors of the appeal express confidence that all this can only play into the hands of those who oppose the restructuring under way in the Soviet Union. They urge all their countrymen, all sober-minded people in Azerbaijan and Armenia, including intellectuals and the clergy, to do all they can to normalize the situation. Under the circumstances it is imperative to resolutely counteract the nationalists who are seeking to destabilize life and prevent society from following the path of democratization and progress.

Those who signed the appeal include people from different Soviet nationalities and occupations, such as prominent writers Arseniy Rakovskiy, Fazil Iskander, Ales Adamovich, and many others, who are represented throughout the country.

#### **Other Intellectuals Appeal**

*LD251351 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 25 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—Alarm over the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan was expressed in an open letter by representatives of the Soviet creative intelligentsia, published by the newspaper IZVESTIYA today. It was signed by literary scholar Sergey Averintsev, literary critic Vyacheslav Ivanov, writer Veniamin Kaverin and actor Mikhail Ulyanov.

"We were astonished by the bloodshed in recent weeks," they write. "We know that both children and women have suffered. It is quite possible that what has been published and the rumours, prompted in part by inaccurate reporting, contained distorted truth and even lies. Today we all need to learn not to carp at obvious mistakes and crimes, not to increase their number."

"Every one of us, Russian intellectuals, addressing you Armenians and Azerbaijanis, takes to heart the pain which we share with you," the letter says further. "It is no time now to look for the culprits in history, to disentangle a complex chain of causes and consequences. There will be time for this. The main thing is not to give in to the tempting possibility of exacerbating the situation even further, because it is fraught with a new disaster."

Noting that the ethnic differences, exacerbated by the religious ones, make themselves felt in our age all too often, the authors of the letter urge to stop and think over the fact that love to one's people should make one love and respect his neighbours, that one's own faith must not call for enmity to the adherents of a different faith.

"We Russians do not disclaim the responsibility for the heavy burden left to us in legacy and by the Russian Empire, which sometimes deliberately aggravated the mutual strife between the nations populating it," the letter runs. "We are also aware of all the guilt of the Stalinist and consequent years: lip service to the friendship of peoples sometimes concealed growing conflicts which were suppressed and became even more acute..."

"We want to assure you that all these days we are thinking of you and of the difficulties which you and your people are going through. These are our difficulties as well. Without resorting to violence at all, we need to try to discuss and find a way out of the chaos of the past few weeks," the authors of the letter write.

#### **Official Outlines Karabakh Development Program**

*PM251329 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with V.P. Lakhtin, first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Development Program"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Today Soviet people are watching events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh with alarm and hope. With alarm because unfortunately emotions in the conflict still have the upper hand over reason, and that is always dangerous. With hope because there is every possibility of resolving the conflict while taking into account the interests of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and the interests of the entire country.

The party Central Committee and the country's government are engaged in a quest for paths in this direction. A group of senior officials of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Gosplan and leaders of a number of ministries and departments, including V.P. Lakhtin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers



Bureau for Social Development, recently traveled to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Today he answers questions from an IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Petrovich, you visited Nagorno-Karabakh a few days after us, members of a group of correspondents from central newspapers. We journalists have already been able to share some of our observations with readers. What is your impression of the situation inside and surrounding the NKAO?

[Lakhtin] The main point is that the situation remains tense, in my view. And this is the biggest obstacle to a sober study of the problem and a solution of it in the common good.

[Correspondent] So is that also an obstacle to your mission there in Nagorno-Karabakh? What specifically was your mission?

[Lakhtin] We studied the situation in order to help formulate a program for the economic and social development of the NKAO and an improvement in its population's living standards. In other words, a program designed to satisfy the interests and demands put forward by the oblast's working people in the course of the campaign that developed there for a change in the NKAO's status.

[Correspondent] The matter of whether changes in status are capable of leading to the desired changes in life is a separate issue. What I wanted to ask you is this. BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY recently published a long "roundtable" feature in which many scientists took part. The idea behind the piece was to demonstrate that the NKAO is one of the most prosperous regions of the republic. Don't you think that such conclusions are one-sided?

[Lakhtin] These conclusions are based on precise data. For instance, in terms of housing provision the NKAO is 40 percent better off than the average for the rest of Azerbaijan. There are also other indicators in terms of which the situation in the oblast is better than that in either union republic.

[Correspondent] So why then was the socioeconomic development program for whose sake you visited the place also necessary? In order to create even more advantages?

[Lakhtin] Two factors should be borne in mind here. The first is that, along with the achievements in the social sphere noted earlier, there are also a number of omissions in the oblast. There are considerable difficulties with water supply. The network of hard-surfaced roads is less well developed than the average for the republic. The cultural sphere is lagging behind. For instance, a sports center has been under construction for over 9 years in Stepanakert. The oblast center still does not have a

Young Pioneer center. Or take the oblast's biggest enterprise—the silk combine in Stepanakert, which I visited. It gives the impression of being ownerless. The local comrades told us a good deal about the exceptional order that reigned in the city during the round-the-clock demonstrations. They said that even food for the demonstrators was superbly organized. But the situation with regard to food for the workers at the combine is quite appalling. And that is just one instance of inattention toward human needs.

The second factor is the fact that, if the omissions have to be rectified, then we must develop the existing advantages and not stop at what has been achieved. Therefore the NKAO development program provides for a 40-percent increase in the commissioning of housing in the oblast in the next 5-year plan. As a result, each family there will have a separate apartment or an individual house by the year 2000. The provision of housing in the oblast will reach 20 square meters per resident—which is higher than in the country as a whole and considerably more than in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Correspondent] Were there any complexities in the work on the program?

[Lakhtin] In general, no, for the requirements have, in my opinion, been correctly defined, and the finances and resources have been allocated in full accordance with this. But I believe it is, nonetheless, necessary to speak of one complexity—probably the only one—in this matter. It is, surprisingly, the stand taken by the oblast leadership. Primarily the party leadership headed by G. Pogosyan, the new first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, which does not consider these questions to be the chief ones.

In what way does this stand appear incorrect to me personally? Even given the present supply of housing, which on average is not bad, there are many people in the oblast who need better housing conditions.

[Correspondent] What is the program like? What does it give people?

[Lakhtin] The program provides for a package of measures to strengthen the material and technical base of the social sphere and accelerate the development of the oblast's productive forces and infrastructure. I have already spoken of housing construction. In addition, it is planned to construct in Stepanakert an 850-seat cultural center, a 400-bed oblast hospital, a medical center to handle 600 visits per shift, a Young Pioneer center, and a city library, as well as 9 or 10 general educational schools in order to make the switch to mainly single-shift teaching in the next few years.

One of Nagorno-Karabakh's problems today is the inadequate number of enterprises where young people, on graduating from school, can become established and organize their life. This results in a considerable outflow

of young, healthy forces from their birthplace. Therefore the program provides both for the enlargement, modernization, and retooling of existing enterprises and for the construction of more than 10 branches in the oblast. In addition, 14 capacities will be created for the production of cheeses, meat, sausages, and preserves.

To improve the water supply to Stepanakert and Nagorno-Karabakh's rayon centers, two large reservoirs will be constructed and the scale of water resource construction will be increased. The volume of further construction of the road network is to increase 50-100 percent. It is planned extensively to lay on gas supplies to settlements and cities in the oblast by constructing gas pipelines. The construction industry's capacities are already being built up at an accelerated pace.

All these measures require considerable capital investments—up to R400 million. They will exceed the plan already this year.

[Correspondent] We are speaking of the material sphere. And yet in their demands many inhabitants of the NKAO place no less and perhaps even greater emphasis on the spiritual factor, on the establishment of broader, closer, and freer ties with Armenia.

[Lakhtin] Let us start with the free nature of these ties. There can and must be no restrictions here.

If we turn to the program, it takes account of the Armenian population's wishes and includes points such as ensuring that the population of Nagorno-Karabakh and of the rayons of Azerbaijan and Armenia adjacent to it are assured of good-quality reception of three television channels, including the Armenian republican channel; working to restore and reconstruct historical and cultural monuments on NKAO territory, involving Armenian masters of restoration in this work; expanding the printing base so as to increase production of artistic and educational literature in the Armenian language.

A special point in the program relates to work in schools teaching in Armenian. It is proposed from this year to allocate places in VUZ's in the Armenian SSR for the targeted admission and training of young people from the NKAO.

I have cited just a few points. I think that the program can be extended, if life demands it. But on the whole I believe that the planned measures are a kind of linchpin of restructuring in the NKAO, in all the basic spheres of its life.

[Correspondent] The granting of greater scope for initiative and independence to local organs of power is an important part of restructuring locally. There was repeated discussion of this when we journalists were in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Lakhtin] During our trip as well. These are questions long overdue for attention. It is time they were resolved. But they are outside our powers and our program.

But, to return to the program, it is of not only economic but also great political significance. People must clearly see the watershed between the demagoguery of certain persons and the real, practical activity of the party and the state, which show concern for the people's vitally important interests. [Lakhtin ends]

I believe the following must be added to what has been said. When this interview was being prepared, the writer Z. Balayan came to the editorial office. Not by chance but in connection with a recent IZVESTIYA article which said that he doubts the effectiveness of the program being drawn up for the NKAO's socioeconomic development.

In this regard Z. Balayan asked for the following elucidation to be published:

"When I said that there is no going back, I was referring to the impossibility of continuing to use the former methods. As was correctly stated at a conference at the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary concertedly to resolve current questions relating to socioeconomic, domestic, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of relations between the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism.

"I believe that the program described above can be a principled step in this direction."

From the editors: On 24 March the party leadership examined and approved this program.

**Karabakh Party Chief Pogosyan Interviewed**  
*PM241425 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*  
3 Mar 88 p 1

[Interview with G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, by own correspondent G. Pogosov: "Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: Time for Reason and Sober Decisions"; no date of interview given; first paragraph is BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY introduction]

[Text] Stepanakert—Yesterday our own correspondent met with Genrikh Andreyevich Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, and asked him to answer the editorial board's questions.

[Pogosov] How have the Communists and working people reacted to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's Appeal to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia?

[Pogosyan] With understanding and a feeling of gratitude. M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal is a convincing testimony of the most constant attention, profound concern, and sincere interest in resolving the basic socioeconomic problems which have arisen in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's development. We entirely share the view that a considered and democratic approach to resolving these questions is essential.

The Appeal clearly shows that new approaches and new guidelines are needed in overcoming the growth difficulties. And a calm and businesslike atmosphere should be firmly established in the oblast for this. The main concern, as M.S. Gorbachev's appeal says, is to demonstrate civic maturity and tenacity, and return to normal life.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is returning to normal.

The process of normalization is difficult, and it is not the same in all enterprises. But people are joining in the labor process. A number of industrial enterprises are keeping pace with the plan. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes are commencing the springtime field work. The pace is increasing in livestock units. Transport, municipal enterprises, and all essential services were already working normally.

Nagorno-Karabakh is multinational in its makeup. In the oblast Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Russians and Ukrainians, Georgians and Belorussians live side by side. Of course, there are unresolved problems in our life. But it is a mistake to think that capital can be made by making much of them. Today it is important to prevent individual people from playing on this. Democracy should not be understood in a one-sided way, separating rights from duties. This is detrimental to society's socioeconomic development and peoples' friendship.

I would like to note that the former party obkom leadership is to blame for the artificial difficulties created concerning cultural exchange, the provision of artistic literature and school textbooks in our native language, and other aspects of the many-sided and traditional ties among the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh and fraternal Armenia. These problems could and should have been resolved promptly.

[Pogosov] What measures are being taken to further normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?

[Pogosyan] We realize that now the main concern is ideological, propaganda, and explanatory work in working collectives, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and educational institutions. It is very important for every one of the oblast's inhabitants to be profoundly aware of the extreme clarity and precision of the CPSU Central Committee position, for everyone personally to be aware

that the time has come for reasonable and sober decisions and ensure that the feeling of civic duty and for responsibility for the unity and cohesion of our multinational state takes priority.

The industrial enterprises of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are connected by close economic bonds with many of the country's related enterprises. In conditions of economic accountability every hour lost is a loss not only for every working man in the autonomous oblast, but also for our partners in the country's various regions.

The party obkom is convinced that the difficulties will be overcome and that party, soviet, trade union, economic, and Komsomol organs will do everything to ensure that the oblast's economic and political life is completely stabilized, lost ground is made up, and everyone's contract commitments are fulfilled.

We assign the party aktiv and primary party organizations the primary role not only in implementing social and production tasks but also in forming a sober attitude to the contemporary situation. The CPSU Central Committee's willingness to examine the whole package of socioeconomic problems in the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is one more testimony to the wisdom of the Leninist nationality policy. I can say with all certainty: Everyone has now come to realize that today the main concern, as M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal noted, is to concentrate on resolving specific economic and social tasks in the spirit of restructuring and renewal.

**Academician Bromley Outlines Nationality Issues**  
*PM251423 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian*  
*No 13, 26 Mar-1 Apr 88 (Signed to Press 24 Mar 88) p 6*

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"—boldface as published]

[Text] A meeting between scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute and journalists on the subject "On Topical Problems of Nationality Relations in the USSR" was held in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press center. The meeting was addressed by Institute Director Academician Yu.V. Bromley.

Measures to bring the living standards of all nationalities in the USSR up to the same level have been taken through the years since the moment when the equality of all peoples was proclaimed. Some of these peoples accomplished a leap from a primitive, communal system to socialism, and this was done largely with the help of other nations and the introduction of certain privileges for the more backward ones. Successes in the development of culture and the economy could not have failed to

generate a sense of legitimate national pride and greater national awareness which, while essentially positive phenomena, could provide breeding ground for nationalism.

The whole of social life is projected into the sphere of nationality relations, and therefore the shortcomings in our society's development could not have failed to affect them. These shortcomings included the premature proclamation that there are no problems as regards the nationalities question, the breaches of socialist justice toward certain nations during and after the war, the excessive centralization in the solution of all questions which wounded national pride, and the concurrent exploitation of national origins to obtain privileges.

According to the institute's data, there are up to 120 ethnic groups living in the USSR, with 55 million persons either living outside the boundaries of their corresponding national state formations or not belonging to any such formation at all. This is why nationality relations must be perceived not only as relations between republics, but also as relations between individuals. The solution to the problems must be sought primarily in the economic development of all regions and the creation of identical conditions for the development of all ethnic groups living in different republics.

#### **Solovyev Attends Leningrad Soviet Session**

*PM241541 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88 Morning Edition p2*

[TASS report: "Leningrad's Cultural Potential"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 19 Mar—Everyone living in Leningrad was given the opportunity to take part in preparations for the Leningrad Soviet session, which today discussed the problems of enhancing the role played by cultural and arts institutions in the development of the city's spiritual life. Hundreds of proposals and observations have been brought to the deputies' attention via the press, television, and radio. They reflect a burning interest in enhancing the creative and artistic potential of Leningrad, one of the world's major cultural centers. [passage omitted]

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, took part in the session.

#### **Biryukova Tbilisi Activities Detailed**

*PM241713 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Mar 88 p 1*

[GRUZINFORM report: "CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.P. Biryukova's Stay in Tbilisi"]

[Text] A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in the Georgian capital 14 March.

She was met at Tbilisi Airport by Comrades D.I. Patiashvili, V.I. Alavidze, G.A. Anchabadze, O.G. Vardzelashvili, P.G. Gilashvili, A.N. Inauri, K.A. Kochetov, B.V. Nikolskiy, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, N.A. Chitanava, N.R. Sadzhaya, and V.M. Siradze.

The firstling and flagship of Georgia's light industry—Tbilisi's "Sabchota Sakartvelo" Worsted and Cloth Combine—is on a path of intensive economic development. Having begun a radical restructuring of all spheres of its activity 2 years ago, the collective has achieved substantial positive changes. It has been transformed from a chronically loss-making enterprise into a profitable one. Last year, for example, the profit exceeded R5 million. Many social questions are being resolved simultaneously with economic problems.

A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, visited the "Sabchota Sakartvelo" Combine 14 March. She was accompanied by Comrades D.I. Patiashvili, V.I. Alavidze, G.A. Anchabadze, P.G. Gilashvili, and O.Ye. Cherkeziya; V.K. Makeyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector; and I.G. Gritsenko, USSR deputy minister of light industry.

A.P. Biryukova familiarized herself with the work of the main production facilities and the textile workers' working and living conditions. In conversations with workers, specialists, and leaders of the enterprise attention was focused on the need to improve quality in every possible way, extend the range of products, and ensure that they are competitive on the world market. But still far from everything is well in this matter here. The enterprise's output lags considerably behind world standards. Much also must be done to improve working conditions and satisfy the production workers' everyday needs.

Combine Director M.F. Teniyeshvili spoke about the first steps of the restructuring being carried out at the enterprise to improve production and work under state acceptance conditions and to prepare for the switch to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, and about the complexities and problems arising in this connection. One of them is, in particular, the problem of raw materials. The Shulaveri Primary Wool-Processing Factory is the largest of its suppliers. There are instances when a considerable amount of the incoming raw materials has to be rejected at the insistence of the state acceptance system—which affects the combine's work.

Hero of Socialist Labor V.B. Kemashvili, assistant foreman, entered the conversation. Like other working people at the combine, she is concerned about the inadequate pace of retooling. True, last year 87 units of equipment were replaced. New spinning, twisting, warping, and weaving machine tools and units have been installed. However, it has not been possible to fully



eliminate all "bottlenecks." A targeted retooling program entitled "Intensification-90" has been drawn up at the combine. To implement it it is extremely necessary to accelerate the allocation and delivery of the appropriate equipment.

During the conversations with the enterprise collective and leadership the growth of national textile worker cadres, who are the backbone of the enterprise's work force, the relatively high standard of production, and the modern range of output in demand among consumers were noted with satisfaction. At the same time, many problems at the enterprise need to be resolved on the spot, using its own resources. It is necessary, for example, to mechanize and automate certain technological operations and modernize existing equipment. The enterprise's engineer-innovators must say a weighty word here. It is necessary to expand in every possible way commercial and business ties with related enterprises and trading organizations.

Questions connected with the combine's social development got a special mention. The efforts of the enterprise management, party committee, and social organizations to strengthen the social base have produced good results. A catering combine, which provides working people with inexpensive and varied dishes, and a house kitchen are operating. A new club building was constructed recently, where approximately 30 circles and sections function. In addition to the working people themselves, their children also have the opportunity to attend. The consumer complex, which includes a hairdresser's, a food store, a footwear repair workshop, and so forth, has been completely renovated. However, the restructuring of work and acceleration, A.P. Biryukova emphasized, require the prompt resolution of everyday problems of concern to people. Take, for example, the housing question, which is acute here—several hundred families are on the books. While having the funds to construct an apartment block, the management is failing to resolve the question of starting its construction.

A.P. Biryukova also drew the combine leadership's attention to the need to make fuller and more concrete use of the rights granted by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which points, in particular, to the freedom to choose suppliers. It was pointed out that a more active search should be made for the optimum forms of organizing and encouraging labor.

After noting the collective's successful start this year, the CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt on unutilized reserves. Thus, it is necessary to increase the loading of capacities to 94 percent by 1990, exclude all nonproductive losses, adopt a firm policy of switching all production facilities to the contract and economic accountability, ensure the production of output exclusively on the basis of local raw materials, and make the range of colors more varied. Under conditions of self-financing this will

produce more profit, and the collective will be able to accelerate the development of social spheres of life and satisfy more quickly all who need living space.

Eleven economically accountable collectives are now operating at the enterprise on the basis of specialized and comprehensive teams, with a total of more than 1,000 working people. Pay and bonuses are distributed here with regard to each person's coefficient of labor input. Thus, the basic production links themselves erect a barrier to slipshod work and disorganization and have an interest in improving labor efficiency and quality in every possible way.

...A cozy two-story detached building. It houses the enterprise's kindergarten, which approximately 200 children attend. Here there is everything the children need to grow up not only healthy but also comprehensively developed. A.P. Biryukova familiarized herself with the conditions in which the children are maintained and chatted with them and their parents and teachers.

In the evening the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the republic's leaders saw a performance of the show "The Autumn of Our Spring" at the Tbilisi State Puppet Theater.

#### Further on Visit

PM241445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 83  
Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit to Georgian SSR"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Mar—During her 14-18 March Georgia visit A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, focused her attention on the practical work of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs to provide the population with goods and paid services. She went to the "Sabchota Sakartvelo" Worsted Cloth Combine, the "Isani," "Gldani," and "Elva" Production Associations, the G. Dimitrov Aviation Combine in Tbilisi, and the Silk Combine and the S.M. Kirov Sewn Goods Association in Kutaisi; she visited the republic national economy exhibition and Tbilisi's Fashion and Clothes Culture Center, a trade center in Tskhaltubo, and a number of other trade, consumer service, and public catering facilities, and she familiarized herself with the work of cooperatives.

Light industry accounts for almost two-thirds of all nonfood goods produced in Georgia. In the course of meetings and conversations with the sector's workers the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted definite changes for the better in the activity of labor collectives in connection with their transition to the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. At the same time it was stressed that there has not as yet been any radical restructuring of the work of the sector. Patently insufficient use is being made of the potential of the new economic mechanism and the rights granted by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise.

Attention was drawn to the need for in-depth knowledge of economic management methods, the need to organize enterprises' entire work on the basis of a thorough consideration of the population's demands and the market's requirements, and the need for a radical improvement in labor collectives' production and financial activity.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary indicated group "A" sector enterprises' inadequate contribution to the saturation of the market with goods and services. The task was set of increasing the production and substantially extending the range of consumer goods. Special attention was devoted to measures to boost the quality of consumer goods manufactured in the republic, which has remained low for many years.

During meetings with city inhabitants the conversation turned to the practical course of restructuring and how social questions are being resolved. The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about working people's working and living conditions and trade and medical services.

A.P. Biryukova addressed a meeting of the republic's party-economic aktiv dedicated to the tasks of party and soviet organs regarding increasing consumer goods production.

Flowers were laid at the V.I. Lenin memorial in the Georgian capital.

A.P. Biryukova was accompanied on her trip by D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

**Dissident Priest Asks Patriarch To Step Down**  
AU250831 Paris AFP in English 2158 GMT  
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (AFP)—A dissident priest and five other militants on Thursday asked the aging patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church to stand down because he was "too infirm" to meet demands facing the church. "Your infirmities serve those who do not want to see a recovery of the church, society and government," Father Gleb Yakunin said in an open letter to Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia, which was presented to foreign correspondents here. Orthodox priests "should finally dare to say all that they think," the letter added. "It is paradoxical that it is not the church, but the government, which currently has the initiative in drawing believers into active participation in social life," it went on.

Father Yakunin was freed in April 1987, after serving eight years' exile in Siberia for openly denouncing what he said was the persecution of Christians and for

charging senior church officials with being too ready to bow to the authorities. Last August, he was given a parish near Moscow after being banned from holy office for 21 years.

His letter to Patriarch Pimen, 77, comes shortly before a senior church gathering next Monday, which is expected to lay the groundwork for a Grand Synod on June 6, marking the 1,000th anniversary of the "baptism of Russia."

Father Yakunin said that despite a recent "thaw" in relations between the church and the state, the initiative for regeneration should come from within the Orthodox community. "The idea of 'perestroyka' is no stranger to Christianity, and it is preferable to a schism" within the Church, Father Yakunin wrote. 'Perestroyka' (restructuring) is a key concept in the economic and social reform policies introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Father Yakunin's letter said there had been improvements in the Church's situation, with the reopening of 16 church buildings in the past three months and a promise of 200 more to come by the summer. Bibles were getting through the post, he added, and unofficial religious education was no longer repressed.

On the other hand, Moscow baptists had recently witnessed the enforcement of a law banning them from voluntary hospital work, Father Yakunin said.

"The struggle is continuing at the heart of power," he warned.

**'New Approaches' to Islam Urged in Uzbekistan**  
PM231635 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
20 Mar 88 p 2

[Correspondent M. Alimov article under the rubric "We Study a Problem": "From Where Do They Come, the Submissive Ones? Why the Influence of Islam Is So Steady in the Life of Many Young People"]

[Text] Tashkent—I cannot forget an incident of which I was once told by a Komsomol worker in Groznyy. A guy from a small mountain village had died heroically in Afghanistan. The motherland marked his exploit with an Order of Lenin. Who do you think was the first to go to his home to express condolences to his relatives? Alas, not the Komsomol raykom secretary. And who spent all the difficult days of mourning in his home, sharing the bitterness of the untimely loss equally with his father and mother? Alas, again not a Komsomol worker.

So who did?

A mullah...

"We are losing out to religious figures in the most important thing—humanity," my acquaintance concluded bitterly at the time.

I listened to him and remembered. My grandfather had died. At age 100. A humble peasant, an indefatigable worker, he had labored all his life. He was, as he frequently joked, a "nonparty communist." But he believed piously in God. Every day he would pray assiduously, and he dreamed of making a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. When he was dying, he asked to be buried according to all the principles and laws of the Shari'a.

Well, it was decided to carry out the old man's will. A mullah was invited to the funeral. And then something strange happened. During the funeral some of the relatives... hid somewhere round a corner. The reason? They said: "We will be accused of participating in a religious rite when we have a party card in our pocket...."

And I remember feeling terribly hurt on my grandfather's behalf. Had he been a criminal? So why did not all his relatives pay their last respects to him? Recalling that sad story now and comparing it with the present day, this is what I think: Many absurd excesses and sometimes simply unconsidered steps have been perpetrated in our Uzbekistan in recent years in questions of antireligious propaganda. For it is a fact that you have only to "report" that you have seen someone at a funeral where there was a mullah, and he cannot escape unpleasantnesses. Understand me correctly, I am not talking about indulging people who follow religious rites. I am saying that it is naive, at the least, and sometimes even simply harmful to resolve a complex problem with prohibitions and reprimands alone.

For it is because of these very excesses that many cemeteries in the Central Asian republics are neglected today, if not entirely forgotten.... Not to mention the moral harm. It is tremendous, because people learn to be two-faced and duplicitous. It is no secret that religious rites have begun to be carried out on the quiet and in secret.

Oh, these excesses! I remember a former secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee at a very prestigious conference prohibiting the celebration of the ancient and traditional Now Ruz spring festival. The arguments? It is, it turns out, not our Soviet festival, but is, it is said, religious to the core. In what then, permit me to ask, does its religiousness consist? In the fact that during Now Ruz, girls wear their most beautiful costumes, while horsemen assiduously repair agricultural equipment which the elders then receive, and woe betide the guy who works lackadaisically—in this village he might not find himself a bride...?

And again—sad memories. I will never forget the funeral of Abdurakhim, editor of the Uzbek young pioneers' newspaper LENIN UCHKUNI, who died tragically. We could not believe that this splendid guy, a young Communist, was no longer with us.

And here we were at the cemetery. According to the custom, all the men squatted down as though by command and turned up their palms. What now? Would a mullah step forward and start reading chapters from the Koran? No. We were burying a communist. The poet Nariman Aripzhanov stepped up to the head of Abdurakhim's casket and declared the funeral meeting open. Many people spoke at that sorrowful hour.

The people who had come with us to the cemetery carried on squatting in dismay and did not know what to do, while the mullah was hiding to one side and waiting for us to finally leave. But we were in no hurry, and we left when we had paid full tribute to our friend's memory.

I believe it was not just a funeral. It was a battle—open and honest—against religious survivals. It taught a lot to all who were at the cemetery during those minutes. But this is what still rankles: Not a single Komsomol Central Committee secretary came to bury Abdurakhim. Each one found urgent things to do, and one, claiming an urgent call, drove away from the cemetery gates—probably just to be on the safe side....

And again I recall a Komsomol worker acquaintance from Chechen-Ingushetia. He would say striking things. It turns out that there are still no clubs at all in many villages in the republic. But there are mosques everywhere. And people build them themselves. On their own initiative, so to speak. And yet something else struck me most of all. It was said that no one would work a subbotnik until the mullah deigned to permit it.

Alas, it is not only in Chechen-Ingushetia that it is hard to be a propagandist of atheism today. A biology teacher from Tashkent Oblast's Bostanlykskiy Rayon once came to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Tashkent correspondent's office. Talib Ruzmetovich Ruzmetov spoke of many things. Of the fact that for 30 years now he has been fighting survivals from the past in his home village of Koshkurgan. He has published more than 200 notes and articles on atheist work in the village school in various newspapers and journals. In them he called everything and everyone by their proper names. And now he hears behind his back: "Khudosiz"—"godless man..." If he slips on the ice—it is "God's punishment." If his wife or children fall ill, it is because there are lots of "godless books" in his house. All right. All these are trifles. Something else made Ruzmetov lose heart. He had collected very rich material for propaganda of atheist knowledge to assist teachers of history, physics, and literature, but instead of support he heard... reprimands. And from whom—from the school director! Further. He

staged the play "Put On the Evil Eye" with eighth-graders, but again the director banned it: He said it was a weak work which must not be shown to children. That too would have been all right, but the matter even reached the point where his 5-year-old daughter was shut out of the kindergarten: "Go home, there is no place here for children of people like your father...."

Of course, in the end people stood up for the teacher Ruzmetov. But did he find it any easier to carry out his propaganda activity? When I asked him about this recently, he only smiled a bitter smile....

...In Dushanbe I once heard that most of our believers are women. Incidentally, this situation obtains not only in Tajikistan but throughout Central Asia. And there is something behind this. For centuries Islam trampled on women's honor and dignity, allocating to them the role of an obedient, uncomplaining slave in the family and in society. And yet, let us recall that in the early thirties a "khudzhum"—an "offensive"—against survivals and a feudal-landowner attitude toward women swept over the Central Asian republics in a mighty wave. Millions of girls then exposed their face to the sun. But, clearly, we have rested content too early, believing the matter done. Here is just one fact, albeit a terrible one: Last year 270 women in Uzbekistan alone committed self-immolation.... Is it not the iron grip of Islam, which is so strong even today in everyday life and family life, that makes young women, brought to a state of despair by humiliation and insults, pour solar oil over themselves? How frequently a mother in an eastern family is put in a submissive position with regard to the man and is deprived of rights. But can a submissive woman really bring up an unsubmissive, fighting man?

And here is something else I think about: Perhaps one of the causes of the glaring deviations from Leninist and socialist norms and principles in Uzbekistan in recent years has been the fact that here children hear from their mother's lips day after day: "Submit to fate, and Allah will be pleased...."? And this is how they have grown up—generation after generation....

I will state frankly that when I shared this observation recently, during a meeting with the republic's young creative workers at the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee, not all supported me. Some even rebuked me: "You are a bad Uzbek, a disgrace to your people...."

I love my people. I bow my head before their magnanimity and talent. A historical fact: My people warmed and caressed more than 200,000 war orphans during a bleak time.

But I remain resolutely convinced that the fact that my people permitted the rule of Rashidov and submissively carried out ill-intentioned orders is also the fault of Islam, that vehement preacher of submission to fate and to brute force....

And, finally, the last thing, about which I cannot keep quiet. More and more self-styled wise men have recently been appearing among us. Why? Because it is precisely Central Asia that has the highest birth rate indicator today. But there is a catastrophic shortage of children's medical centers, hospitals, and maternity homes. Uzbekistan alone now has a shortage of 5,000 pediatricians. And moms are turning to wise men. The consequence is high infant mortality....

No, I am not campaigning for the immediate eradication of Islam from our life, and, if you take a sober look at things, that is impossible at present, for Islam today is not only a way of thinking for a considerable number of people, but also a way of everyday life. But nor am I calling for account to be taken of just the "objective" situation. What is needed, above all, is a search for decisively new approaches to this undoubtedly painful problem. There is work here for everyone: scientists and party and Komsomol organs. Painstaking, purposeful, bold, and sometimes even unexpected work, and not noisy but, alas, muddle-headed occasional "campaigns"—this is what is resolutely needed today, now....

**Kazakh Party Meets Media Representatives**  
*LD221039 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian*  
1500 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting with representatives of the republic's mass media and central press, held on 16 March at the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, was devoted to topical matters relating to the activity of the press, television, and radio in the second stage of restructuring in the light of the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. Taking part were Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee; Comrades Bashmakov, Dzhanibekov, Kamalidenov, Kubashev, Meshcheryakov, Nazarbayev, and Urzhumov, members of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Bureau.

The journalists were told of the situation in the main avenues along which work is being conducted by the republican party organization in implementing radical economic reform, the democratization of all spheres of life, and the plans of the 5-year period. Note was made of the great role of the mass media in accelerating social and economic development and in solving pressing problems.

Certain positive changes were cited in industry, the agro-industrial complex, the construction of housing and cultural and public amenities, improving the economic mechanism, the services sector, and overcoming negative manifestations. But much still remains to be done, and moreover, with the most active and creative participation of the press. Those working in the mass media should raise their ability, show the tasks being addressed by the party in all their complexity, not fall for a superficial assessment of events and facts, and provide



broader and more convincing dissemination of the advanced experience of restructuring. Newspapers, television, and radio are called upon to do more toward the full utilization of local reserves and possibilities, improving the work of educational establishments for internationalist and patriotic education, and to graphically cover the preparations under way in all places for the 19th all-union party conference.

Replies were given to questions raised by journalists concerning economic reform, its ideological provision, the improvement of the republic's management, the reduction of the administrative machinery of state establishments, the protection of the environment, blank spots in history, nationalities and international relations, the struggle with favoritism, the work of the law-enforcement organs, and the establishment of social justice.

**Estonian Nationalist Demonstrations Described**  
*DW251115 Bonn DIE WELT in German 25 Mar 88 p 8*

[Carl Gustaf Stroehm article: "Demonstrations in Estonia Too"]

[Text] Vienna—While worldwide attention is focused on the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan and on the Karabakh autonomous region, mass demonstrations have also taken place in the Baltic states.

In Tallinn (Reval), the Estonian capital, on 24 February—as has become known just now—about 8,000 people demonstrated in front of the monument to Anton Hansen Tammsaare, the Estonian national author. The demonstrators were commemorating the 70th anniversary of the independent republic of Estonia, which was occupied in 1940 by Soviet troops.

The demonstrators were surrounded by the KGB and militiamen, among them a special unit that acted in earlier demonstrations in Latvia and Lithuania. A few days before the demonstrations, which were not authorized officially, several school classes of 14-17-year-old children—an age group considered to be especially "nationalist" in Estonia—where sent on school excursions into the countryside. Police units that had come from other areas were lodged in the empty classrooms. Civil rights advocates and dissidents were temporarily put under house arrest to prevent their participation.

To the surprise of everyone, the concentrated police units did not become directly involved in the demonstrations. They limited their action to playing loud martial music over loudspeakers, obviously to drown out possible anti-Soviet slogans. When Ahto Vellamaa, the Communist Party secretary of the Estonian capital, "warned" the assembled crowd over the loudspeaker, he and other Communist Party functionaries were laughed at loudly and whistled at.

Eventually some "reformist" Communist Party functionaries succeeded in talking some 2,000 demonstrators into coming to the Estonian Opera House and the House of Political Education to have a discussion there with party functionaries. Mainly older people accepted that suggestion. In the two buildings, party functionaries were confronted with unusually courageous questions. It was asked why no opposition parties were permitted in the Estonian Soviet Republic—after Soviet authorities recently had acted sharply against the founding of an Estonian independence party. Mikk Titma, a communist sociologist considered a Gorbachev supporter, said he agrees in principle with the demonstrators that "opposition groups" are necessary.

To the demand of a demonstrator that Estonian should be given back its blue-black-white national flag, (the colors and other national emblems have been banned since the occupation), the communist spokesman responded that it could be "discussed peacefully." Other questions dealt with Russian workers in Estonia. The poet Raivo Raave accused the Estonian Communist Party leadership of not representing the national interests of the country and the people.

Other people asked in the discussion what Kaarel Vaino, the chief of the Estonian Communist Party, was doing all day long, and whether he was looking after Estonian interests. Communist Party sociologist Titma, the moderator at the discussion—which lasted 5 hours—warned the demonstrators not to ask "too much" of Moscow. "Otherwise there could be uncontrollable processes."

**Swedish Weekly on Estonian National Sentiment**  
*PM231511 Stockholm NU in Swedish*  
*17 Mar 88 pp 14-15*

[Andres Kung article: "The Forbidden Picture From Tallinn 24 February 1988"; the "picture" referred to in the title is an accompanying photograph which a caption describes as "a smuggled picture of the demonstration on Estonian Independence Day at which 20,000 people gathered in Tallinn"]

[Text] I often have noticed that the Baltic question is close to the hearts of the Swedish people. When I raised the subject of the Baltic freedom struggle on the Klarsprak [Straight Talk] program the other week, the program received more reactions from listeners than ever before—and almost all were positive. The Klarsprak debate on the Baltic states also grew into one of the most comprehensive in Swedish newspapers, and on Swedish radio and television, since the war—and it even enticed KGB veteran Nikolay Neylands to reply from Riga.

When I write my articles in NU, I notice the same thing. If I write about repression in distant parts of the world such as South America or South Africa there is seldom any reaction—other than, perhaps, that some Pan-African Congress supporter thinks that I wrote too uncritically about the African National Congress or that some

African National Congress supporter does not like the fact that I mentioned the Pan-African Congress at all. But if I write about the Baltic freedom struggle I receive both letters and telephone calls. This happened recently too, and a fairly common request was that I should write another account of what is really happening in Estonia.

This request was really quite justified, because it seems that—strangely enough—not a single Swedish journalist was in Estonia on Independence Day, 24 February. Other Western journalists were prevented from traveling to Estonia through excuses such as that there were no air or train tickets, hotel rooms, and so on. On Independence Day there also “happened to be” a fault on the telephone lines between Estonia and the rest of the world. Nevertheless, since then a fair amount of information has leaked out through the fairly rusty Iron Curtain.

The big demonstration in Tallinn was planned to begin in the evening. That afternoon a number of those who planned to lead the demonstration were arrested. Among those arrested were a number of the founders of the new Independence Party, other well-known democrats and nationalists, and the leader of the nationalist-religious opposition group, Charta 87, Hubert Jacobs. A few of them have since been expelled to Sweden—and several more are said to be on their way.

Those arrested were charged with a number of different crimes and misdemeanors—from hoisting the banned black, white, and blue independence flag to stealing a pair of women's shoes (!). The real reason was probably that the authorities hoped to prevent the mass demonstration they feared by silencing its leaders.

Nevertheless, after the work day ended, 20,000 demonstrators gathered at the monument to author A.H. Tammsaare in the center of the capital. This is reported by the Aid Center for Political Prisoners in Estonia, whose sources have always proved to be reliable in the past.

One of Charta 87's members, Raivo Raave, appealed to the crowd not to allow itself to be provoked into violence, which would give the security organs an excuse to take action. A former political prisoner and a founder of the Independence Party, Mati Kiirend, was also able to make himself heard. He spoke about the need for human and national rights in Estonia too.

Thousands of demonstrators then made their way to the Town Hall Square. Because the authorities had not arranged some “jamming device,” several speeches were made there. One of the founders of the new Independence Party, Jaan Nomm, spoke about the need to reestablish independence and his speech brought ovations. The crowd also repeatedly chanted, “Eesti, Eesti, Eesti vabaks!” (“Estonia, Estonia, Estonia free!”) This was clearly too much for the security organs, who responded by dispersing the crowd.

The demonstrators went on to the Hirve Park by Cathedral Hill, where there were demonstrations last summer against the Hitler-Stalin pact. There several speeches were made. The security organs did not intervene but contented themselves with photographing the demonstrators. Toward midnight the demonstration broke up peacefully. At the same time the arrested leaders of the demonstration were released.

So much for the picture I have been able to piece together with the aid of eyewitness reports from Estonia. But it is sad that the Swedish public did not have the chance to see direct reports from the occupied Baltic states—in the same way that we see shocking pictures from the areas occupied by Israel.

If only a Swedish television team had been on the spot and you, at home in your armchairs, had been able to see 20,000 Estonians demonstrating quietly and with dignity by singing in unison their banned national anthem—surrounded by thousands of militiamen.

Recently a couple of Sweden's party leaders have acted in an exemplary fashion in the context of the Baltic question, even without such stimuli. Moderate Coalition Party leader Carl Bildt was the Swedish guest speaker when a couple of thousand Estonians recently celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Estonian declaration of independence. The Moderate Party leader told a packed Stockholm City Hall how his interest in the Baltic states has grown out of his earlier interest in Europe.

Bildt reminded his audience of the Hitler-Stalin pact, which he called “our age's most shameful document.” According to the moderate leader, this agreement made “World War II possible by giving Hitler a free hand to subjugate Poland. It gave Stalin the power to subjugate Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and also to seek to crush free Finland. And this is often forgotten: For 2 of World War II's 5 years the Soviet Union was fighting alongside—certainly not against!—the barbarism of Hitlerite Germany.”

Against this dark background he painted the sunny vision of “a Europe with freedom for all. The dream of a Baltic which could be a real sea of peace and freedom. For history teaches us one thing again and again: That real peace needs freedom. That the peace which comes from repression is short-lived and always sows the seed of new conflicts and war.”

As a yachtsman of many years' standing Carl Bildt has had a greater awareness of the countries on the other side of the Baltic than those Swedes for whom the Baltic states have simply become a region from which low pressure areas move east or west. He also visited Tallinn a couple of times in the seventies.

Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg, perhaps more than any other Swedish politician, has taken an active interest in Estonian affairs in recent years. Even in his

first speech as Liberal Party leader he noted how "freedom" has become an empty slogan or something taken for granted for many young people in Sweden, while it is still filled with meaning for many of their contemporaries on the other side of the Baltic. He also declared that "nothing would do more to promote lasting peace than if the communist regime in the Soviet Union were replaced by a democratic regime."

When the Estonians in Stockholm celebrated their national day in Stockholm Konserthus, packed as usual, in February 1984 Bengt Westerberg gave a much-praised speech. He did the same at the end of the Baltic peace and freedom cruise in the summer of 1985. Recently he spoke in the Goteborg Konserthus, when Estonians celebrated the 70th anniversary of their declaration of independence.

"I was impressed that there were so many people there," he said. "There must have been at least 1,200 people there, because the Konserthus was full. There was also a very good atmosphere. It was one of the most enthusiastic meetings I have attended since I was in Goteborg 5 days before the last election, when we also had a meeting in the Konserthus and were even forced to turn away a couple of hundred people, for whom there was simply no room. It was wonderful to come back and experience such enthusiasm again."

In his 27 February speech in Goteborg, Bengt Westerberg did not content himself with speaking in general terms about freedom. He also demanded—once again—that the best-known dissident in Estonia today, Mart Niklaus, be released immediately. He announced that the Liberal Party's international fund had decided to grant a further 10,000 kronor to the Aid Center for Political Prisoners in Estonia to support political prisoners and their families.

And last but not least he put forward an eight-point program to support Baltic peace and freedom activists and to expand links between Sweden and Estonia.

First, within the framework of its foreign service transmissions Sveriges Radio could also broadcast news and other information in the languages of our Baltic neighbors—Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian.

Second, a strengthening of economic ties between the Baltic states and Sweden would be welcome, especially now that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been allowed to form their own foreign trade organizations.

Third, it would be beneficial if communications between Sweden and the Baltic states were increased through direct air and sea links.

Fourth, automatic telephone traffic should be introduced between Sweden and the Baltic states, as between Sweden and more distant countries and continents.

Fifth, consideration should be given to setting up Swedish consulates in the Baltic capitals to facilitate various forms of contact—economic, cultural, and sporting contacts, and tourism.

Sixth, we in Sweden should continue to appeal to the Soviet Government to respect the Helsinki Agreement's undertakings on the reunification of divided families.

Seventh, within the framework provided by the UN Human Rights Commission, the Nordic governments should separately—or severally—work for an investigation into the situation in the Baltic republics regarding human rights and national self-determination. In doing so we would live up to the resolution adopted by a unanimous Council of Europe last year and supported by the Swedish delegation.

Eighth, we could—in accordance with the Council of Europe's recommendation to its member governments—raise the Baltic question at the Helsinki conference's follow-up meetings.

Summing up, Bengt Westerberg declared once again:

"Just as many Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians see Sweden as a Neighbor with a capital 'N,' Nordic solidarity should also embrace our Baltic neighbors. The Baltic cause is our cause too!"

**'A Dozen' Refuzniks Detained in Moscow**  
*AU241840 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT*  
*24 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (AFP)—Moscow police and KGB state security agents detained a dozen Soviet Jews late Thursday as they were demonstrating near the Kremlin for the right to emigrate. Eyewitnesses said the "refuzniks"—Jews who are refused emigration passes—stood before the Lenin library for a few minutes, bearing yellow stars, a Jewish identification symbol used by Nazi Germany in World War II. Moscow militiamen (uniformed police) and KGB agents then took them away in buses.

The remaining crowd started discussing the right to demonstrate. An elderly man criticized the militia's intervention, and brandished this week's issue of the MOSCOW NEWS, which denounces authorities' frequent refusal to allow demonstrations in the capital. Since September, rally organizers have had to apply for permission from the authorities.

A militiaman commented that demonstrations should not give way to "anarchy," and another proceeded to break up the gathering.

Yuri Kosharovskiy, another protester who calls himself the "oldest refuznik"—he first applied to emigrate 17 years ago—said he and his wife had been on a hunger strike for the past two weeks.

**State Committees for Forests, Timber Formed**

PM221149 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] With a view to radically restructuring the management of forestry and the timber industry, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has set up a USSR union-republic State Committee for Forests, the basis of the USSR State Committee for Forestry, and a USSR union-republic Ministry of the Timber Industry on the basis of the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry.

**Restrictions on Mailing Abroad To Be Eased**

PM231613 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 88  
Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Following Up Letters '...Not for Publication'": "Response to Ban"; last paragraph is editorial reply]

[Excerpts] The situation described by Ye. Khabarov in the note "Parcel Under Suspicion" (IZVESTIYA No. 48) touches on a sensitive topic. Many things are prohibited from being sent abroad in parcels. Since 1983, a statement must be written and a form filled out in duplicate in order to send any printed publication abroad. As if the sender is intending to personally accompany his printed matter abroad! Does all this help to expand contacts between people? Rather, the contrary. [Passage omitted]

Many more obstacles to international postal exchange have arisen. Many of them contradict common sense and the spirit of the times.

O. Kotkalo, Stakhanov

When this response had already been sent for typesetting, the editorial office received an official response to the earlier article. V. Draganov, deputy chief of the State Customs Inspection Administration, admits that the list of objects banned from being sent abroad from the USSR does indeed contain a multitude of unwarranted restrictions. It is now being revised. It is planned to considerably extend the list of objects allowed to be mailed and also to increase their quantity. In the near future the appropriate changes will be made to customs postal regulations.

**New State Committee for RSFSR Created**

PM241415 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA  
in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has formed the RSFSR Union-Republic State Committee For Nature Protection.

**RSFSR Council of Ministers Discussions Held**

PM241421 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its latest session the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium has examined the question of the work of RSFSR ministries and departments to develop direct production ties and create joint enterprises and international associations with enterprises of the socialist community countries. It was pointed out that the level and scale of this work still do not correspond to the Russian Federation's industrial, scientific, and technical potential and are not ensuring the requisite economic effect. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of Economic Ties with Foreign Countries, the RSFSR Gosplan, RSFSR ministries and departments, and local organs of power have been tasked with taking resolute steps to radically improve foreign economic cooperation. New forms of cooperation must be used to resolve tasks concerned with sectors' coordinated development, expand production of competitive types of output, and ensure high efficiency of economic collaboration.

The question of the "Health of the Nationalities of the North" targeted program was examined. It has been noted that definite results have been achieved in reinforcing the health of these nationalities as a result of the consistent implementation of plans for the economic and social development of the regions where the nationalities of the north live. But the level and quality of medical aid still do not conform with contemporary demands. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium approved a "Health of the Nationalities of the North" targeted program designed to radically improve the prevention of disease, boost the quality of treatment and preventive aid, and improve the work of public health organs and establishments.

The session examined other questions of the republic's social and economic life.



### Agenda for 19 April RSFSR Supreme Soviet

PM241359 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 March 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 1 a 100-word report under the headline "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Convening of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet" on 19 April accompanied by the following text:

"The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reports that it is planned to submit the following questions for examination by the 7th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation:

"1. On the work of the RSFSR's soviet and economic organs to provide every family with a separate apartment or individual house by the year 2000 in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

"2. On the RSFSR draft law 'On Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life.'

"3. On the ratification of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees."

### Children Killed for Transplant Rumors Denied

PM241519 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 11, 14-20 Mar 88 (Signed to Press 16 Mar 88) p 7

[Article by Ye. Vadimova and Yu. Ivashchenko under the rubric "From Authoritative Sources": "Ter-r-rible Rumors"]

[Text] The "RHI" ("Rumor Has It") network has carried the following report:

An underground millionaire became ill. He needed urgent surgery to have a healthy organ transplanted. A criminal gang was paid vast sums of money to kidnap many children in Moscow. The organs that were needed were excised, their blood was pumped out. The bodies were mainly destroyed, but some of them were found. The militia is trying in vain to trace the kidnappers.

Many Muscovites have heard similar stories recently and are inordinately perturbed. Adults accompany children right to the school gate and meet them in the same place after school so that they should not be left without proper supervision for even a moment. While dads and moms, grannies and granddads kill time waiting around for their offspring the kidnap story is embellished with more and more bloodcurdling details. As always, the audience quickly tires of references to "RHI" and the sources of the information are already being identified as "a militia major" or "a prosecutor's office investigator I know...." Any attempt to identify them by name is considered tactless in such cases, but the veracity of reports that are circulating is, for some unknown reason, totally unquestionable.

In our desire to avoid innuendos and discover the real truth we approached authoritative officials who are responsible for their words.

So, have there been any kidnap cases?

Moscow Prosecutor Lev Baranov:

"The truism that 'There's no smoke without fire' also applies in this case. But let us investigate what caused the appearance of the rumors.

"In my view, fertile imaginations were fired by numerous press reports about organ transplants. This is becoming something ordinary, and we are constantly learning about transplants of hearts, lungs, kidneys, spinal cord tissue.... All this is nothing but the truth. It is also true that destitute people abroad do sell their blood, kidneys, and corneas which are used to provide medical assistance to well-off people.

"One must add to any objective information the stories contained in thrillers. The story of a rich patient killing—not children, but his own brother—to live a little longer with his heart seems to have originated from a feature movie shown on our television.

"I would imagine that passions were also inflamed by a recent NEDELYA article about criminals kidnapping children to extract ransom payments.

"Truth plus fabrication plus truth.... There you have a readymade bonfire waiting to be set alight by a few sparks of unhealthy imagination.

"I declare: The Moscow Prosecutor's Office has no details about children being kidnapped so that their organs could be transplanted to other people. Moreover, there has not been a single case of kidnapping for ransom either last year or this year. Such crimes (ransom payments, I mean) have been committed in some regions of the country, but not in Moscow.

"But this does not mean children do not disappear. Last year alone the militia received 421 disappearance reports. Some 416 of the children are already back home. I hope that the remaining five will be found safe and sound. There have been 66 reports filed during the first 2 months of this year. Everything has ended well in 53 cases; those who disappeared have either returned or been brought back.

"But not every disappearance case can be attributed to 'a desire for a change of location.' There are occasions when we discover bodies. The body of a 16-year old girl was recently found in the sewers. The criminals have been detected. Rumors may be fueled by three murders committed in the suburbs in 1986. Alas, the murderer (murderers?) has not yet been found, but it can be said with all certainty that the killed adolescents were not victims of 'medical' interests."

...We also asked medical practitioners to express their views regarding the rumors which have attracted so much attention.

Anzor Khubutiya, deputy director of the USSR Ministry of Health Scientific Research Institute for Transplantology and Artificial Organs:

"Let me say at once that children's organs can be transplanted only to other children. They are totally unsuitable for adults, adults need strong, developed, and fully functioning organs. Operations for children's organ transplants are unique, there is only one precedent in our country.

"It is also simply absurd to imagine that someone would commit a serious crime and murder an unknown child without knowing his blood group or whether his organs would be suitable for the patient for whom they may be meant.

"Our institute runs an All-Union Center for the Collection and Conservation of Organs. It gathers information from hospitals about cases when someone is suffering from brain injury which is incompatible with life. A whole team consisting of a surgeon and several medical workers travel to the spot. To obtain a donor's organ, they need the appropriate equipment and observance of all rules of antiseptics. Afterward dozens of physicians from the most diverse specialized fields examine the organs of the deceased and of the transplant patient for compatibility.

"I think there is no need to explain that the transplant operation itself can be done only by a qualified medical institution. It is beyond the capacity of 1, 2, or even 10 people to set up such an enterprise.

"As for taking blood plasma from children, there is absolutely no need for it. We have sufficient donor blood. Moreover, a child's blood is in no way better than an adult's.

"Consequently, all this is nothing but downright fabrication. People have simply seen too many 'horror' movies. I seem to recall one titled 'The Secret of Honeymoon Hotel,' where young people were being kidnapped so that their organs could be taken. But if you recall, a vast hospital had been organized there for this purpose."

### Economic

#### Jan-Feb Industrial Performance Report

PM231445 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 12, Mar 88 (Signed to Press 17 Mar 88) p 8

[USSR State Committee for Statistics report: "On Industry's Work in January-February 1988"—boldface as published]

[Text] In January-February 1988 contract commitments for output deliveries in line with state orders and direct deliveries on the basis of contracts with consumers were

fulfilled 98.9 percent by industry as a whole against 97.3 percent in January-February 1987. Some 16 percent of associations and enterprises failed to cope with their commitments.

Compared with January-February of last year industrial output growth amounted to 5.8 percent, with an average daily growth of 5.0 percent.

The fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries, the profit plan, and rates of growth of the volume of output (works, services) in January-February 1988 by national economic complexes is as follows [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—PERCENTAGE fulfillment of contract commitments; Column B—SHORTFALL in output deliveries, millions of rubles; Column C—PERCENTAGE of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column D—PERCENTAGE fulfillment of the profit plan (January); Column E—ACTUAL percentage rate of growth of the volume of output (works, services) in comparable prices]:

|                                                                                      | A    | B   | C  | D     | E   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----|----|-------|-----|
| Fuel and energy complex                                                              | 99.3 | 62  | 26 | 105.3 | 4.6 |
| Metallurgical complex                                                                | 99.2 | 101 | 24 | 104.5 | 5.0 |
| Machine building complex                                                             | 98.7 | 205 | 35 | 92.3  | 9.3 |
| Chemical industry and timber complex                                                 | 98.4 | 264 | 38 | 100.7 | 6.0 |
| Agro-industrial complex                                                              | 99.6 | 80  | 11 | 95.7  | 3.2 |
| Social complex (USSR Ministry of Light Industry)                                     | 98.7 | 215 | 23 | 99.6  | 5.1 |
| Construction industry complex (USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry) | 99.0 | 22  | 17 | 100.9 | 6.2 |

Data on industry's work in January-February this year for **union republics** (including industry under union-level jurisdiction) is cited below [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—PERCENTAGE fulfillment of contract commitments; Column B—PERCENTAGE of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—ACTUAL percentage rate of growth of volume of output (works, services) in comparable prices]:

|                 | A    | B  | C   |
|-----------------|------|----|-----|
| RSFSR           | 98.9 | 18 | 5.5 |
| Ukrainian SSR   | 98.8 | 14 | 6.9 |
| Belorussian SSR | 99.9 | 5  | 7.5 |
| Uzbek SSR       | 98.7 | 14 | 0.5 |
| Kazakh SSR      | 99.1 | 12 | 5.1 |
| Georgian SSR    | 99.0 | 11 | 2.7 |

|                | A    | B  | C   |
|----------------|------|----|-----|
| Azerbaijan SSR | 98.7 | 14 | 3.7 |
| Lithuanian SSR | 99.7 | 3  | 5.9 |
| Moldavian SSR  | 99.0 | 14 | 7.0 |
| Latvian SSR    | 99.3 | 10 | 6.5 |
| Kirghiz SSR    | 99.0 | 19 | 7.9 |
| Tajik SSR      | 99.1 | 19 | 6.4 |
| Armenian SSR   | 97.4 | 17 | 2.3 |
| Turkmen SSR    | 99.4 | 6  | 2.7 |
| Estonian SSR   | 99.6 | 7  | 3.3 |

At industrial associations and enterprises where **state acceptance** of output has been introduced (2,200 enterprises), 8 percent of output worth R1.2 billion was rejected on first submission during February, and the output eventually rejected since the start of the year amounts to R11 million.

Data on the progress of fulfillment of state orders and the production of the most important types of output by national economic complexes are cited below:

#### Fuel and Energy Complex [subhead]

|                                                | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours            | 314                    | 100.8                            | 104                                        |
| Oil (including gas condensate), million tonnes | 103                    | 101                              | 103                                        |
| Gas, billion cubic meters                      | 130                    | 103                              | 109                                        |
| Coal, million tonnes                           | 133                    | 103                              | 103                                        |

The **fuel and energy complex** sectors exceeded their set targets by more than 2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, 1.2 million tonnes of oil including gas condensate, 4 billion cubic meters of gas, and 4.3 million tonnes of coal including 1.8 million tonnes of coking coal.

At the same time, a number of associations failed to meet their targets for the extraction of fuel and energy resources. Delivery shortfalls amounted to 0.1 million tonnes of coal at the "Stakhanovugol" and "Rovenkiantratsit" Associations under the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, 53,300 tonnes of oil at the "Noyabrskneftegaz," "Purneftegaz," and "Azneft" Associations under the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, and 31 million cubic meters of gas at the "Astrakhangazprom" Association under the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry. **Metallurgy Complex** [subhead]

|                                                          | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Steel, million tonnes                                    | 27.0                   | 100.9                            | 103                                        |
| Rolled ferrous metal products (finished), million tonnes | 19.2                   | 101                              | 105                                        |
| Steel pipes, million tonnes                              | 3.3                    | 101                              | 106                                        |
| Iron ore, million tonnes                                 | 41.1                   | 101                              | 102                                        |

**Metallurgy complex** enterprises ensured the fulfillment of state orders for finished rolled ferrous metal products and steel pipes.

At the same time, production of oxygen conversion steel, electric steel, cold-rolled sheet metal, and a number of other advanced types of metal products was less than planned, and this prevented the complete fulfillment of contract commitments to consumers.

The "Zaporozhstal" Metallurgical Combine, the Dzerzhinskiy Metallurgical Combine in Dneprovskiy, and the Yenakiyevo Metallurgical Combine failed to cope with the fulfillment of state orders for finished rolled metal products.

#### Machine Building Complex [subhead]

|                                                                          | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Turbine generators, million kilowatts                                    | 2.2                    | 90                               | 160                                        |
| Large electric machines, thousands                                       | 4.0                    | 89                               | 108                                        |
| Special, specialized, and modular metal cutting machine tools, thousands | 7.6                    | 99.5                             | 97                                         |
| Metal cutting machine tools with digital program control, thousands      | 3.3                    | 99.6                             | 104                                        |
| Forging and pressing machines with digital program control, units        | 315                    | 97                               | 151                                        |
| Instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts, million rubles       | 836                    | 100.1                            | 113                                        |

|                                                                                                                                                            | Actual in Jan-<br>Feb 1988 | Percentage<br>fulfillment of<br>target | Jan-Feb 1988<br>as percentage<br>of Jan-Feb<br>1987 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Medical<br>equipment<br>and spare<br>parts, million<br>rubles                                                                                              | 151                        | 104                                    | 110                                                 |
| Computer<br>equipment<br>and spare<br>parts, million<br>rubles                                                                                             | 866                        | 102                                    | 121                                                 |
| Ferrous metal<br>rolling equip-<br>ment, million<br>rubles                                                                                                 | 38.6                       | 97                                     | 135                                                 |
| Petroleum<br>apparatus,<br>million rubles                                                                                                                  | 44.5                       | 98                                     | 113                                                 |
| Chemical<br>equipment<br>and spare<br>parts, million<br>rubles                                                                                             | 168                        | 96                                     | 115                                                 |
| Industrial<br>equipment<br>and spare<br>parts for light<br>industry and<br>processing<br>sectors of the<br>agro-indus-<br>trial complex,<br>million rubles | 343                        | 94                                     | 111                                                 |
| Tractors, mil-<br>lion horse-<br>power                                                                                                                     | 8.8                        | 98                                     | 104                                                 |
| Agricultural<br>machines,<br>million rubles                                                                                                                | 669                        | 98                                     | 103                                                 |
| Machines and<br>equipment for<br>stockraising<br>and feed pro-<br>duction, mil-<br>lion rubles                                                             | 467                        | 98                                     | 114                                                 |
| Excavators,<br>thousands                                                                                                                                   | 6.9                        | 98                                     | 118                                                 |

The machine building complex recorded an accelerated buildup of the output of machines and equipment, especially advanced types. Compared with January-February last year, production of industrial robots by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and of devices with digital program control by the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems increased by half.

The 2-month targets were met by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry in terms of processing centers, and by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building in terms of a number of types of agricultural equipment: beet harvesters, grain harvesting combines, and other machines.

But a shortfall against the targets set for the 1st 2 months built up for a number of types of output covered by state orders. Targets were not met by the USSR Ministry of

the Electrical Equipment Industry for large electric machines and AC electric motors, by the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems for instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts and medical equipment, by the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building for excavators, by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building for tractors and machines and equipment for stockraising and feed production, and by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry for programmable metal cutting machine tools and forging and pressing machines.

#### Chemical Industry and Timber Complex [subhead]

|                                                                                                                           | Actual in Jan-<br>Feb 1988 | Percentage<br>fulfillment of<br>target | Jan-Feb 1988<br>as percentage<br>of Jan-Feb<br>1987 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Mineral fertil-<br>izers (in 100-<br>percent nutri-<br>ent<br>equivalent),<br>million tonnes                              | 6.1                        | 102                                    | 104                                                 |
| Chemical<br>plant protec-<br>tion agents (in<br>100-percent<br>active ingredi-<br>ent equiva-<br>lent) thousand<br>tonnes | 55.1                       | 101                                    | 97                                                  |
| Sulfuric acid,<br>million tonnes                                                                                          | 5.1                        | 99                                     | 107                                                 |
| Caustic soda,<br>thousand<br>tonnes                                                                                       | 561                        | 99                                     | 105                                                 |
| Chemical<br>fibers and<br>yarns, thou-<br>sand tonnes                                                                     | 261                        | 102                                    | 104                                                 |
| Truck tires,<br>millions                                                                                                  | 4.6                        | 100.3                                  | 105                                                 |
| Car tires, mil-<br>lions                                                                                                  | 3.9                        | 102                                    | 108                                                 |
| Tires for agri-<br>cultural<br>machines,<br>millions                                                                      | 2.0                        | 99.3                                   | 101                                                 |
| Medicines,<br>million rubles                                                                                              | 552                        | 101                                    | 102                                                 |
| Commercial<br>lumber (ex-<br>cluding small<br>timber pro-<br>curements)<br>million<br>trimmed<br>cubic meters             | 65.7                       | 100.9                                  | 102                                                 |
| Paper, million<br>tonnes                                                                                                  | 1.1                        | 102                                    | 107                                                 |
| of which<br>newsprint,<br>billion square<br>meters                                                                        | 6.2                        | 102                                    | 106                                                 |

The results of the work of work industrial enterprises within the chemical industry and timber complex during



the 1st 2 months show that they ensured the fulfillment of their set targets and achieved the planned output growth for mineral fertilizers, polypropylene, chemical fibers and yarns, synthetic rubber, magnetic tapes, truck and car tires, hard wood-fiber slabs, paper, and cardboard.

At the same time, there was a shortfall of over 65,000 tonnes in the production of synthetic ammonia as a result of arrears which were allowed to build up by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers ("Stirol" in Gorlovka, "Azot" in Cherkassy, "Tolyattiazot," and the Turkmen nitrogenous fertilizers plant).

The situation in terms of meeting the targets for the production of caustic soda and soda ash did not improve in the system of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

Four of the ministry's five enterprises manufacturing soda ash failed to meet their plan targets in February; the worst laggards were Sterlitamak's "Soda" Production Association (88 percent, delivery shortfall 20,000 tonnes) and the Crimea's "Khimprom" Production Association (83 percent and 10,900 tonnes respectively).

The shortfall allowed to build up in February by Sumgait's "Organicheskiy Sintez" Production Association (24 percent) increased the sector's arrears in terms of polyethylene production.

Enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry met their February targets for the manufacture of lumber, but failed to fully make up for the shortfall which was allowed to build up in January. The shortfall over the 2 months amounted to 17,000 cubic meters. The work of major timber procurement associations like "Dallesprom," "Irkutsklesprom," and "Primorsklesprom" remains unsatisfactory, and their arrears in commercial lumber production since the beginning of the year has risen to 0.5 million cubic meters.

#### Industry Within the Construction Industry Complex [subhead]

|                                                          | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Cement, million tonnes                                   | 22.7                   | 101                              | 104                                        |
| Asbestos cement sheet (shingles), million standard tiles | 1,436                  | 100.1                            | 100                                        |

|                                                               | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Asbestos cement pipes and sleeves, thousand km standard pipes | 13.5                   | 101                              | 100.9                                      |
| Soft roofing and insulation materials, million square meters  | 333                    | 99                               | 102                                        |
| Construction glass, million square meters                     | 48.1                   | 100.7                            | 103                                        |

Industry within the construction industry complex met its February and January-February targets for the manufacture of cement, asbestos cement pipes and sleeves, construction glass, and asbestos cement sheet (shingles). Arrears in meeting the February targets for the production of soft roofing and insulation materials were allowed to build up, with delivery shortfalls increasing since the beginning of the year to reach about 4 million square meters.

The following figures describe the production of consumer goods:

|                                                                                            | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <b>Foodstuffs</b>                                                                          |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Meat, including Category I subproducts (from state raw material resources), million tonnes | 2.0                    | 108                              | 101                                        |
| Sausage products, thousand tonnes                                                          | 616                    | 102                              | 104                                        |
| Butter (from state raw material resources), thousand tonnes                                | 168                    | 115                              | 110                                        |
| Whole milk products in milk equivalent (from state raw material resources), million tonnes | 5.2                    | 104                              | 104                                        |
| Full fat cheese, thousand tonnes                                                           | 117                    | 103                              | 106                                        |

|                                                                         | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Actual in Jan-Feb 1988 | Percentage fulfillment of target | Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Commodity edible fish products (including canned fish), thousand tonnes | 1,015                  | 107                              | 98                                         | Furniture, billion rubles                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 1.5                    | 99.8                             | 109                                        |
| Vegetable oil (from state raw material resources), thousand tonnes      | 574                    | 101                              | 102                                        | Automobiles, thousands                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 215.5                  | 100.2                            | 100.4                                      |
| Margarine products, thousand tonnes                                     | 280                    | 100.8                            | 104                                        | The total value of <b>consumer goods</b> produced in January-February this year (excluding alcoholic beverages) amounted to more than R50 billion in retail prices. The 2-month targets for the total volume of consumer goods production were met.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Confectionery products thousand tonnes                                  | 831                    | 104                              |                                            | At the same time, enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, and the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry failed to meet the prescribed targets.                                                                                                                               |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Canned food, billion standard cans                                      | 2.4                    | 107                              | 105                                        | Production was less than planned by 25,000 television sets, 59,000 radio receivers, 51,000 tape recorders, 43,000 washing machines, 26,000 sewing machines, and 5,400 motorcycles. A lag was allowed to build up in the manufacture of vacuum cleaners, bicycles, galvanic cells, and batteries for domestic appliances.                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                        |                                  |                                            |
| <b>Light Industry Products</b>                                          |                        |                                  |                                            | The manufacture of light industry goods increased in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. But the range and quality of many articles fail to satisfy consumer demand. The USSR Ministry of Light Industry failed to fulfill state orders for cotton and woolen textiles, knitted goods, and footwear. According to the January-February results, 411 of the ministry's enterprises did not cope with their contract commitments. The resulting shortfall in deliveries of output and goods to consumers amounted to R215 million. |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Cotton textiles, million square meters                                  | 1,331                  | 99.7                             | 104                                        | <b>State Acceptance Impact on Construction Viewed</b><br><i>PM241645 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88</i><br><i>Second Edition p 2</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Linen, hemp, and jute textiles, million square meters                   | 163                    | 99.9                             | 104                                        | [Interview with G. Kolmogorov, USSR State Committee for Standards chairman, by special correspondent M. Buzhkevich: "The Construction of the Building Was Stopped... Conversation With Chairman of USSR State Committee for Standards on State Acceptance in Construction"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs PRAVDA introduction]                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Woolen textiles, million square meters                                  | 118                    | 99                               | 103                                        | [Text] In the capital's Solntsevskiy Rayon the Moscow large panel housing construction association is erecting some 22-story apartment blocks. At the beginning of January the workers building two blocks ran into difficulties. The assembly of the ninth story of the first building and the top story of the second building was halted. The order came from representatives of state acceptance, who had discovered breaches of techniques.                                                                                                    |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Silk textiles, million square meters                                    | 349                    | 100.2                            | 108                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Knitted articles, million items                                         | 306                    | 99.2                             | 103                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Hosiery, million pairs                                                  | 347                    | 100.9                            | 105                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Footwear, million pairs                                                 | 136                    | 99.2                             | 101                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| <b>Nonfood Consumer Goods (excluding light industry goods)</b>          |                        |                                  |                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Television sets, millions                                               | 1.5                    | 98                               | 128                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| of which, color sets                                                    | 0.9                    | 100.7                            | 166                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Refrigerators and freezers, millions                                    | 1.0                    | 100.3                            | 110                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Motorcycles, thousands                                                  | 162                    | 97                               | 116                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Sewing machines, thousands                                              | 248                    | 91                               | 107                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |
| Washing machines, millions                                              | 1.0                    | 96                               | 115                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                        |                                  |                                            |

Two days after the leaders of the construction projection submitted a detailed plan for eliminating the shortcomings, assembly work resumed. It was with a discussion of this case that the conversation between PRAVDA special correspondent M. Buzhkevich and M. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards, began.

"Nothing out of the ordinary happened," the chairman of the USSR State Committee said. "On 1 January this year state acceptance was introduced for housing and social facilities in 22 of the country's cities, including Moscow, in accordance with a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decision. The state acceptance representatives halted the assembly of the blocks in Solntsevskiy Rayon until the operating techniques were rectified.

Buzhkevich: But before that, Georgiy Dmitriyevich, a quality control system for construction existed. To be specific, it was carried out by organs of GASK—THE State Architectural and Construction Control. Why was it necessary to introduce state acceptance in this sector?

Kolmogorov: There was a system, it is true, but unfortunately it did not ensure effective monitoring. The problem was departmentalism. The GASK organs were subordinate to gorispolkoms and were constantly being pressured by their leaders, who forced them to accept unfinished buildings for the sake of plan fulfillment—people were waiting for apartments, they said. Everyone became accustomed to that.

As a result the government decided to introduce an extradepartmental system of independent monitoring of construction based on the example set by industry. They instructed us at the State Committee for Standards to handle the state acceptance of housing and social, cultural, and consumer facilities. The initial scale of the work is not great. Forty state acceptance organs have been set up in 22 cities under our committee's territorial standards, weights, and measures organs. In addition to Moscow they are operative in Leningrad, Kiev, Sverdlovsk, Minsk, Riga, Vilnius, Tallinn, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Kishinev, Frunze, Vladivostok, Lvov, Nizhnekamsk, Kirovabad, Chardzhou, Fergana, Petropavlovsk, and Leninabad. Experienced construction workers form the backbone of the new service.

Buzhkevich: An apartment block is a complex building. It is virtually impossible to find defects in it after it has been built. Even if they are discovered, they are sometimes not rectified. What should the acceptance procedure be for a building?

Kolmogorov: Of course, it is easier to detect a fault in a television set or a lathe even after they have been assembled than in a large building. Thus state acceptance in the construction industry will be introduced stage by stage. The foundation has been laid and our representatives are assessing its quality. If everything is in order,

the construction of the building goes ahead. When assembly is completed there is a routine acceptance check. It is the same with finishing and specialist work: the installation of sanitary engineering, the laying of power lines, telephone lines, and so forth.

When the construction workers have fully completed their work and consider the building fit for habitation, the acceptance commission will arrive, consisting of the usual people: representatives of the local soviet, the agents of the client and the subcontractor, representatives of the health and fire departments, and other services and organizations. They will complete the document handing over the building for use. But with a fundamental addition. This document will become operative only after it has been approved by the leader of the state acceptance organ. What used to happen? The State Commission would accept the building with a whole host of unfinished jobs and the construction workers who had guaranteed that they would rectify the faults would then go off to another site. The ill-fated new occupants would be left with cold radiators and leaking joints and a lot of effort ahead to rectify the faulty work. State acceptance will put an end to that once and for all. The document handing over the building will not be signed by its representatives until the building is absolutely ready.

Buzhkevich: Does that mean we are finally going to realize our age-old dream in which houses and apartments are handed over on a "turnkey" basis, as buildings which you can enter without needing to repair anything or spend time looking for a technical inspector from whom to obtain mixers, cranes, gas cooker rings, and much else that the residents have to install.

Kolmogorov: Yes, handing buildings over on a turnkey basis—that is what we are hoping to teach our construction workers.

Buzhkevich: Even though it is only a couple of months now since state acceptance began working in construction, can you tell us something about the initial lessons you have learned?

Kolmogorov: Unfortunately, certain mistakes were made even during preparation for the introduction of the new type of extradepartmental control. Initially state acceptance is being applied to apartment blocks and to buildings belonging to children's institutions. Later other social facilities will be included. But the list of construction industry enterprises where it is going to operate is very meager. It was also immediately discovered that there is a lack of proper quality control of structures and components (a fact, incidentally, which is also noticed at industrial enterprises). How can you put up a good, reliable, and well-equipped building if the equipment supplied for its assembly consists of panels that do not join, floors that are uneven, and woodworking that does not fit. Now this error is to be rectified as work progresses. An example has been provided by Moscow Gorispolkom, which made a decision to immediately

introduce the departmental acceptance of finished output at all construction industry enterprises in the city with a view to replacing that by state acceptance on 1 July this year. I think that it would be beneficial to apply the Muscovites' experience to other cities where the state acceptance of housing is being introduced.

Buzhkevich: These are teething troubles, as it were. But have any problems come to light in the work since 1 January?

Kolmogorov: I should like to talk first about the measurement system in construction. This is a question of the instruments and devices which enable you to produce various measurements with the utmost accuracy. For example, without a theodolite or a surveyor's level it is impossible to prepare a construction site, to accurately lay foundations, or to assemble structures. Thus it was that the state acceptance representatives discovered that the system of measurement on many construction organizations is completely neglected and that the provision of instruments varies from 20 to 40 percent. In some places they do not even have the basic calibrated rules for checking plasterwork quality or tape measures. Concern to raise the standard of measurement in construction is the task of the USSR Gosstroy and subordinate ministries. The USSR Gosstrib plays an important role here, of course.

Buzhkevich: Quite a few conflicts have emerged in the process of introducing state acceptance at industrial enterprises. In the process of resolving those conflicts the tasks of the new monitoring organ were clarified. Have those lessons been taken into account by the state acceptance organization for construction?

Kolmogorov: Yes, we have tried to make fuller use of the experience accumulated in industry. First, extensive preparatory work was carried out: Construction workers were given an explanation of the aims and tasks of the form of monitoring and assessing their work that is being introduced. This was discussed at meetings in production collectives. It was necessary to adjust the construction norms and rules—SNIPS, as they are called—and the technical conditions for the production and acceptance of construction work. In addition, it became clear that during the construction of buildings foremen and clerks of works most often work from plans and hardly ever use the SNIPS or other normative acts and thus have a poor knowledge of them. It is necessary to work on ways of restoring the standing of these documents.

The state acceptance representatives are required to take part in the improvement of technology and of the quality of all work involved in the construction process. From the laying of the foundations to the submission of the building for state acceptance, they must be not only uncompromising and objective quality controllers but

also active participants in implementing one of the most humanitarian tasks of socialism—providing every Soviet family with its own apartment or individual house by the year 2000.

**Poultry Factories Offer Shares to Employees**  
*LD231255 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT*  
23 Mar 88

[Text] Khabarovsk March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuri Vitrishchak:

A poultry research-and-production amalgamation in the Soviet far eastern city of Khabarovsk has acquired the features of a public company as it has made a stock offering to its staff and some 100 employees have bought the shares.

Dividends are expected to run up to 15 percent a year.

The amalgamation, which includes 30 poultry plants and other businesses, has not been forced into the scheme by financial difficulties.

"The main purpose of selling stock to staff is to provide them with added incentive to turn in more productive and efficient work," the amalgamation's chief economist Nikolay Rusakov told a TASS correspondent.

"Dividends will be directly dependent on profits."

"If the plan for profits is met, they will amount to three percent. If it is exceeded by five percent, the payments will double. They can increase in this way till the fixed limit of 15 percent," he explained.

The worker collective's elected council has decided that 60 percent of the share-holders' monetary contributions will go to meet production purposes, while the rest will be spent on housing construction and the provision of other social services and amenities for the amalgamation's employees.

The practice of enlisting workers' personal savings to develop production has already been tried at several industrial and agricultural enterprises, with positive results reported in the Ukraine and the Russian Federation.

## Agricultural

### Moscow Farmers Congress Activities Continue

**Gorbachev Participates in Debate**  
*LD242150 Moscow Television Service in Russian*  
1800 GMT 24 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers continued its work in Moscow today. [passage omitted]



When purchasing technical equipment, kolkhozes should bypass State Committees for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture, which charge up to 13 percent of the equipment price for mediation. This proposal was voiced by (Popov), delegate from Volgograd Oblast and chairman of the Rossiya Kolkhoz in Kalachev Rayon.

[Begin recording] [(Popov)] The issue of equipment costs should be looked into, as well, and with greater attention. This price does not stand up to criticism, the more so as equipment design and quality still do not stand up to criticism either. Refusals to purchase have already taken place, and there have already been incidences of its distribution to farms through imposed methods, as Comrade (Mikhail Grigoryevich Vagin) writes in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. That is independence and self-financing for you! How are we going to resolve the issues of the transfer to self-recouping in this way, when we invest the works with the exclusive right to resolve the issue of selling its equipment? When discussing the draft Kolkhoz Charter, kolkhoz workers asked... [video shows (Popov) addressing audience]

[Gorbachev, from off-screen, interrupting] You know, you are tackling a very big subject. Already this year the government has had to amend Comrade Yezhevskiy's plan. Was it by 600 billion [unit not specified]?

[Voices from off-screen] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Because they have refused to accept useless equipment. I think that after we have mastered wholesale trade—this is roughly similar to what you are saying—and when the output of this works or another lies idle and unsold, then right away the question arises: How is it going to live? It was the same when we were wondering how to integrate science, with production, how to create incentives? Why is science so slow in engaging itself in the process? Now, however, we have transferred industrial science to financial autonomy, and it has turned out, as a result, that many institutes that pay good salaries and have titles, have nothing to offer to production. They started looking around for buyers, but what they offer is out of date and useless. No one is interested. Then the question arises...[interrupted by audience applause] The state used to allocate 1, 1.5, or 2 billion per year for such an institute, you know. What for? Whose money was this? It was money produced by the toilers of production in industry, in construction, and on farms. Why should socialism be for them—you know that socialism is beginning for them, too [laughter] real socialism. Come on, comrades, there is no other criterion. Each and everyone—man or labor collective—should feel according to how they work. How many interesting ideas! You put the question correctly. I think that all this has gotten under way with us, will get under way now, as there is no other way. The only thing one has to think about is what one has to do to break that monopoly of large-scale suppliers. It should be done in the following way: If their equipment is of substandard

quality, low performance, and expensive, then it simply will not be bought, and that is all. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

The floor is then given to Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's State Agro-Industrial Committee. He noted that agricultural production so far has been growing at a slow pace. This is happening not only due to the causes voiced by the delegates, but also because of the inertia of the kolkhoz leaders themselves, because of crude violations of technology and poor application of the scientific and technological achievements. Comrade Murakhovskiy admitted that the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee has not succeeded in breaking the departmental interests of machine-builders. [passage omitted]

The congress will continue its work tomorrow.

**'Critical Remarks' on Draft Law**  
LD241753 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The restructuring process which has pervaded all spheres of life in the Soviet Union opens up a new stage of the cooperative movement, including that in the country's agriculture. This is the opinion of participants in the fourth congress of the collective farmers of the USSR.

A discussion of the draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR is one of the items on the agenda of the congress which is in session in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses for the second day.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who addressed the congress on Wednesday, emphasized that "the core of the document is the recognition of the cooperative sector as an equal component of the unified national economic complex of the country". A special section in the draft law is dealing with the activities of collective farms and other agriculture cooperatives.

The participants in the discussion welcomed the right being granted to the collective farms under the draft law to tackle the processing of agricultural raw materials, food production, trade, and building work. The state will be bound to render assistance to collective farms in the development of these types of activity.

The delegates also support the collective farms' right, sealed in the document, to lease part of land allotted to them and fixed assets both to other enterprises and individuals, to set up various rural cooperatives, and to engage in foreign economic operations.

Really, the draft law gives wide scope to initiative. For example, cooperatives and associations may be set up in the countryside for the construction of houses and intra-farm roads, and for the joint management of small holdings. The draft law allows the setting up of cooperatives to rent tractors, motor vehicles and other machinery.

Critical remarks about the draft law were also voiced at the congress. In particular, speakers often expressed the idea that a Law on Cooperatives should protect cooperators from high prices of farm machinery, of which the state sector of the economy is the monopoly producer.

Aleksandr Dubko, director of the "Progress" collective farm in Belorussia, drew the attention of those present to an unjustified, from his point of view, price-rise on engineering products. The price-rise rapidly outstrips the resources of rural cooperatives.

The same was also mentioned at the congress by Albert Kauls, chairman of the Adazi agrofirma in Soviet Latvia. He emphasized that tractors, harvesters, and mineral fertilisers being supplied to the collective farms had become much more expensive in recent years while their quality, unfortunately, had not risen.

On the whole, delegates to the congress are of the opinion that the new draft law will give a good impulse to the development of independence and initiative in the countryside.

#### **Collectives' Role Assessed**

LD241136 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT  
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The 4th All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers which deliberates in the Kremlin for the second day, is discussing how to use to the full potentialities of cooperatives for the further development of agricultural production in the country.

The role of collective farms in providing the country with agricultural goods is extremely great. Nearly 27,000 farms having 12.5 million people on their pay-roll turn out over 50 per cent of the gross agricultural output of the country. Whereas the gross agricultural output in the country, as a whole, rose by 9 per cent in the past two years, on collective farms—by 11 per cent.

Over the past two years the country received annually, on average, 30 million tons more of grain, 2.1 million tons more of meat and 8.2 million tons more of milk than in the previous five-year plan period (1981-1985). Much credit for this goes to collective farmers.

Congress delegates expressed satisfaction with their achievements, but they pointed out that the main work was still ahead: to fulfil mapped-out plans. Indeed, the most important task is to boost grain crops. Last year the country garnered in 211.3 million tons of grain. Wheat accounts for about 90-100 million tons of the total. The country's requirements in food wheat amount to 37-38 million tons. We need grain for fodder and not for food. It is fodder grain that we buy abroad.

The fulfilment of plans (it is planned to bring grain production to 250-255 million tons by 1990) will enable the country to cut considerably grain imports. Draft plans for the next five-year period (1991-1995) provide for annual grain production of 260-280 million tons of grain.

Figures are ambitious not only for long-term: but also for current plans. For instance, another 2.5 million tons of meat are planned to be added to the achieved annual production in the next three years of the current five-year plan. This will enable the country to boost per capita meat consumption by seven kilograms (now it totals 63 kg). Targets for boosting production of milk, fruit and vegetables are concrete as well.

The fulfilment of these plans depends, to a considerable extent, on collective farms, say congress participants. Therefore, they express thoughts, ideas and specific proposals aimed at improving affairs on collective farms.

#### **Congress Approves Resolution**

LD251354 Moscow TASS International Service  
in Russian 1045 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Mar (TASS)—The USSR's collective farm peasantry fully supports the CPSU's strategy of accelerating the country's social and economic development, says the resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers.

In the resolution the congress expressed unanimous agreement with the points of the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the comprehensive development of collective farms on the basis of the creative use of Leninist ideas on the cooperative movement.

The basic tenets of the USSR Draft Law on Cooperatives are approved in the document.

Having assessed the positive changes in the development of the collective farm village since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, the congress noted that many collective farms had not managed over the ensuing years to make full use of their constantly growing economic production potential. There have been instances of infringements on collective farm democracy. The congress considered the all-round increase in food production based on the broad development of all forms of cooperation to be a most important task of the collective farm peasantry at the present stage, the document says.

To this end the congress resolution calls on collective farms to develop and strengthen their foreign economic and, especially, their direct links with the cooperatives, organizations, and firms of other countries, first of all the CEMA countries.

The resolution speaks of the need to develop glasnost and to deepen the democratic foundations of collective farm life. The need for further enhancing the role of the collective farm electoral bodies was particularly emphasized. The Union Farm Council is instructed to work out proposals on this to insert the appropriate changes in the existing legislation.

### Congress Continues 25 Mar

*LD250903 Moscow Television Service  
in Russian 0730 GMT 25 Mar 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers continues its work in Moscow. At the Kremlin Palace of Congresses the delegates and guests welcomed with applause Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other party and state leaders. [video shows arrival of Gorbachev, Gromyko, Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Shcherbitskiy, Zaykov, Vorotnikov, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, and Demichev]

The meeting was conducted by (Valerian Vasiliyevich Burudzhani), chairman of the Porgranichnik collective farm of Brichanskiy Rayon, Moldavian SSR. He gave the floor to (Artur Yakovlevich Ernst), chairman of the (Zarya Altaya) collective farm, Zavyalovskiy Rayon, Altay Kray. The delegates continued their discussion of questions of speeding up the social and economic development of collective farms in the new conditions of economic management and democratization of management, the draft Law on the Cooperatives in the USSR, and changes in the model Kolkhoz Charter. The composition of the Union of the Council of Collective Farms [as heard] will be elected.

The congress is continuing its work. [video shows speakers at congress; also seen in the Presidium are: Demichev, Dolgikh, Razumovskiy, and Solomentsev]

**END OF**

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**DATE FILMED**

28 March 1988



